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SPEECHES

BY

LORD CHELMSFORD

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.



SIMLA

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SPEECHES

BY LORD CHELMSFORD.

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SPEECHES BY LORD CHELMSFORD.

1916-17.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

[The 4th April 1916 was observed as a public holiday, and if ever a holiday in Bombay was appreciated, it was to take the opportunity of according a hearty welcome to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy-designate, and wishing God-speed to Lord Hardinge. Practically the whole of Bombay was astir from early morning when the P. & O. Co.'s ship *Kaisar-i-Hind*, with Lord and Lady Chelmsford aboard, dropped anchor in the most beautiful harbour in the world. Prince and peasant alike were out at sunrise to pay homage by their presence to the new Viceroy. Flags were unfurled in the Fort, and the extensive pandal on the Apollo Bunder was gaily decorated. The troops were in their places some time before the landing hour and so were the battalions of the Bombay City Police, mounted and unmounted, who looked exceptionally smart on the occasion. At the Apollo Bunder a guard-of-honour of 100 rank and file of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, with a band furnished by the Officer Commanding the 1st Battalion, G. I. P. Railway Volunteers, was drawn up while the Viceregal route from the Bunder along Esplanade Road and Church Gate Street to the corner of Mayo Road was lined on both sides by the Royal Garrison Artillery, Bombay Volunteer Artillery, 1st Garrison Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, G. I. P. Railway Volunteer Rifles, Bombay Scottish,

4th April
1916.

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

1st Battalion, B., B. & C. I. Railway Volunteers, 108th and 109th Infantry. Behind the line of troops were masses of crowds eager to see Lord and Lady Chelmsford and demonstrate their loyalty. Every house which skirted the Viceregal route was filled with beaming faces, male and female, supremely anxious to catch a glimpse of Lord and Lady Chelmsford as they drove past.

It was quarter past seven when a deputation consisting of the Hon. Mr. Curtis, Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, Major Greig, Military Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, Captain McEwen, A.-D.-C., and Captain Lumsden, R. N., Honorary A.-D.-C. to the Viceroy, proceeded on board the *Kaisar-i-Hind*. Meanwhile Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, accompanied by Mr. Crerar, Private Secretary, Captain the Hon. Inigo Freeman-Thomas, A.-D.-C., and Captain de Geijer, A.-D.-C., arrived at the Bunder, where the beauty and fashion of Bombay were already arranged on either side of vast groups of Indian Princes in scintillating jewels and Bombay officialdom in full dress. The Earl of Glasgow was conspicuous among the great and distinguished assembly. A Royal salute from H. M. S. *Pyramus* announced the disembarkation of Lord Chelmsford, who was accompanied to shore by Lady Chelmsford, the Hon. Joan Thesiger, the Hon. Anne Thesiger, the Hon. Bridget Thesiger, Mr. J. L. Maffey, Private Secretary, Major Verney, Military Secretary, three A.-D.-C.'s to His Excellency, and the Bombay deputation.

A BRILLIANT ASSEMBLAGE.

Lord and Lady Chelmsford were heartily welcomed on the landing stage by Lord and Lady Willingdon, and at the top of the steps by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Ordinary Members of the Council of the Governor General, the Chief Justice of Bombay, the Lord Bishop, and the Ordinary Members of the Council of the Governor of Bombay. The instant Their Excellencies landed another Royal salute was fired from the Saluting Battery.

Mr. Robertson, Political Secretary to Government, at once introduced Their Excellencies to Ruling Chiefs present, who included H. H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur, H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, H. H. the Maharao of Kotah, H. H. the Begum of Bhopal, H. H. the Rao of Cutch, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, H. H. the Maharaja of Jodhpur, H. H. the Raja of Dhar, H. H. the Maharaja of Datia

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

H. H. the Maharaja of Dewas, H. H. the Rana of Dholpur, H. H. the Maharaja of Idar, H. H. the Maharaja of Benares, H. H. the Jam of Navanagar, H. H. the Raja of Rajgarh, H. H. the Nawab of Janjira, H. H. the Maharaja of Panna, H. H. the Raja of Suket, H. H. the Maharaja Sir Pratapsingh of Jodhpur, H. H. the Rana of Dholpur, H. H. the Rao of Cutch, H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Morvi, H. H. the Nawab of Balasinoor, H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Limbdi, the Chief of Sangli, the Chiefs of Meraj (Senior and Junior), the Chief of Jamkhandi, the Chief of Rampur, the Chief of Kurandawad, the Chief of Jawar, the Chief of Jat, and the Chief of Devi.

THE PRESENTATIONS.

Their Excellencies, accompanied by Lord and Lady Willingdon, now proceeded to the Royal dais, from where presentations were made by the Hon. Mr. Curtis and Mr. Robertson, Political Secretary, in turn. The presentations included—

Judges of the High Court, the Additional Members of the Council of the Governor General, the Secretaries to the Government of India in the Home and the Foreign and Political Departments, the Commissioner in Sind, the General Officer Commanding, 6th (Poona) Divisional Area, the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay, the Commissioners of Revenue and Customs, the Additional Members of the Council of His Excellency the Governor, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, the Archdeacon of Bombay, the General Officer Commanding, Bombay Brigade, the Secretaries to the Government of Bombay, the Director of Public Instruction, the Accountant-General, Bombay, the Heads of Departments, Civil and Military, the Collector of Bombay, the President of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, the Municipal Commissioners of Bombay, the Chairman, City of Bombay Improvement Trust, the Presidency Senior Chaplain, Church of Scotland, the Chairman, Bombay Port Trust, Officers Commanding His Majesty's Ships in Harbour, Officers Commanding Regiments, Officers Commanding Volunteer Corps, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and the Sheriff of Bombay, Foreign Consuls-General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls.

The presentations over, His Excellency was presented with an address from the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The address was read by Mr. Chunlal Mehta, President of the Corporation, and enclosed

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

in a magnificent casket representing a horn of ivory resting on the backs of miniature elephants adorned with howdahs of gold.

The address was as follows :—

“ *May it please Your Lordship*,—We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, esteem it a special privilege that we should be the first to welcome you on your arrival in India to take up the great office to which His Majesty the King-Emperor has summoned you. The pride and pleasure which the citizens of Bombay feel in receiving the highest representative of His Majesty is enhanced by the knowledge that you have a hereditary connection with the armed forces of this Presidency. The regiments whose names and numbers constitute an imperishable link with the old Bombay Army have added fresh lustre to their records by their heroism in the present war: and we may be permitted especially to refer to those Maratha soldiers whose kinsmen form the backbone of the working population of this city, and who have displayed on the blood-stained battlefields and throughout the fierce extremes of climate in Mesopotamia those solid and steadfast qualities which have largely contributed to the prosperity of this city in the paths of industry and peace. We feel sure that Your Lordship is proud of this link with this Presidency. But we gladly acknowledge Your Lordship’s claim to our regard on the score of your personal training and qualifications. Your experience as Governor of two of the most important divisions of the Australian continent has given you an intimate acquaintance with the functions of governance. When the present world-wide war broke out you did not hesitate to take a comparatively humble post in a Territorial battalion of His Majesty’s Forces, and, severing the ties of family and of home, to accompany it to this country. We rejoice to think that you thereby obtained the opportunity of observing the life of many classes of the vast population of this Empire, in the towns and in the villages, while still free from the trammels of official responsibilities; yet we desire to acknowledge the readiness with which you undertook distant and possibly monotonous duties if by so doing you could perform your share in the common cause.

The portion, however, of your past experience which naturally appeals to us most, as a corporate municipal body, is your interest and share in Local Self-Government. We have read of your early connection with the London School Board, and subsequently with the

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

London County Council, more especially in the educational work of that body. The direction of primary education in the City of Bombay constitutes one of the most important of our duties; and we feel that your acquaintance with the problems of Local Government in general will lead you to view with sympathy our aspirations and our difficulties, and to regard with approbation such success as we may achieve.

For the present, however, we recognize that the wider problems of administration must engross your immediate attention. Never before has a Viceroy landed on these shores at so momentous a period in the history of our Empire. Although the might of the British Navy and the prowess and preparedness of our Land Forces have fortunately kept war far from our borders, so that the course of life goes on comparatively unruffled and no man need fear for person or for property, yet we cannot but be reminded by the thousands of troops passing through our midst, and the many who return sick and wounded to receive our care, of the terrible realities of this catastrophic conflict. Your task, however, will be lightened by the knowledge of the unswerving loyalty of the people of India, and of their resolve to share in the steadfast determination of the peoples of the Empire to continue the struggle till it is brought to a triumphant conclusion. We feel sure that you will, like the great statesman whose place you are taking, recognize the devotion of the Indian people to the British Crown, and will regard with sympathy their aspirations for progress and orderly development.

We feel that this is not the time to speak of local needs. We trust that Bombay has shown by the ease with which so many thousands of troops have passed through its docks, and by the reception in its hospitals of those who have returned war-worn or wounded, that it is an asset of prime importance in the Imperial system. Whatever city may claim to be the capital of the Indian Empire, Bombay alone can be the main gateway between it and the outer world. The progress of our city, especially in its sanitary development, is therefore a matter of Imperial and not merely of local interest, and we trust that we shall be able to rely on Your Lordship's sympathetic consideration of any representation of our needs that may come before you.

We desire to include in our welcome Lady Chelmsford, whose interest in works of mercy has already become known to us. She will, we feel confident, win a sure place in the affections of the women of India.

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Finally, we beg to convey to Your Lordship our most cordial wishes for the prosperity of your administration, and for your personal happiness during the term of your Viceroyalty."

His Excellency in reply said :—]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Let me first thank you for the personal note of welcome contained in your address. India above all countries is not likely to belittle the value of hereditary association, and though the period during which my grandfather and father were connected with the old Bombay Army is beyond my memory, still it is something that the link is there, and I value it as a stimulus and an inspiration.

You allude to my sixteen months' sojourn in India as a Territorial officer; I am grateful for the experience so derived. In the first place, I was enabled to see with my own eyes the steadfast loyalty of the Princes, Chiefs, and peoples of India to His Majesty the King-Emperor. India has no need to be reminded of His Majesty's keen and lively solicitude on her behalf. In the second place, I was privileged to watch the work and win the friendship of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, who lays down his office to-day. Lord Hardinge has won to an unprecedented degree the confidence, the respect, nay, I would say the affection of the peoples of India, and he has set a hard task before his successor. Continuity is however, in my opinion, a cardinal principle of policy when one man succeeds another, and so far as possible I shall deem it my duty and privilege to carry on Lord Hardinge's work where he has left it.

You refer in your address to my municipal experience. I must confess that municipal work, especially in the educational sphere, is my first love. It has to my mind the

Address of Welcome from Bombay Municipal Corporation.

pre-eminent merit of being removed to a large extent from the ordinary divisions of party politics, and men differ only, or should differ only, according to their respective views of the expediency of a particular piece of concrete work. Those who engage in it for the most part,—and I speak from my experience of my late colleagues on the London County Council,—look for no reward beyond that of satisfaction in good work well done on behalf of the community.

Following your example, I shall not refer to your local needs: it is neither the occasion nor the time. But I am not unaware of the splendid work which has been done in Bombay in respect of the transport of troops and of your care in the hospital for such of those troops as return invalided or wounded from the stricken field.

Lady Chelmsford would wish me to thank you for the welcome accorded to her in your address. Those of us who have had previous experience as Governors General or Governors know the debt we owe to our wives and how that, come what may, there is one at our side who can sustain us when we flag, and inspire us with fresh courage when we are downhearted.

I cannot end my reply without an acknowledgment of that passage in your address which refers to the war. I return here from England, where I found all men determined that there should be only one ending to this war, namely, a victory for the Allied arms. Your address assures me of the same invincible determination. No personal losses, no reverses will quench this spirit. We are all of one mind in this, that peace can only come when we have secured the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and his Dominions.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE.

4th April
1916.

[In the afternoon of the 4th April the Bombay Chamber presented an address of welcome to Lord Chelmsford at Government House.

The address was as follows :—

" May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, desire to offer you a most cord al welcome to this country and beg to tender our sincere congratulations upon your appointment by His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor as Viceroy and Governor General of India.

In view of the distinguished services which you have already rendered to the Empire, we look forward with confidence to your rule in India and we feel sure that your past experience has been such as to enable you to deal successfully with the numerous and varied problems of this great Dependency.

As Governor of Queensland, and afterwards of New South Wales, Your Excellency's terms of office required prompt measures of bold and effective statesmanship to meet unusual political situations, and, although the conditions in this country are essentially different from those of the Australian Colonies, we feel confident that in Your Excellency's hands the best traditions of the exalted office to which you have been called will be fully maintained. Here in Bombay, we remark with interest your own connection and that of your family with our Presidency and look upon your recent residence in this country as a fortunate circumstance in having afforded you opportunities for gaining an unusual insight into Indian aspirations and requirements.

It is natural perhaps that even in such an address as this we should be unable to avoid reference to that world-wide struggle which is uppermost in the minds of us all. We hope and believe that the universal determination of all classes and peoples throughout the Empire to prosecute the war, at whatever cost, to a glorious and successful conclusion will before long earn the desired reward in the triumph of the cause of the Allies, which we believe to be the cause of right and justice. We take this opportunity of bearing witness to the wonderful response to the demands of that cause throughout the length and breadth of India, from every race and from every class, a response not only united and immediate to the requirements of the moment but irresistible in its urgency to give freely of human life, labour, and money at the call of Empire.

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Your Excellency will fully realize that the present abnormal conditions have given rise to many unusual problems in carrying on the trade of India. That it has been possible to carry on our trade so satisfactorily we owe primarily to the magnificent work of the British Navy, and to the Navy we also owe the calm confidence with which Bombay has worked through nineteen months of war conditions. We gratefully acknowledge the readiness of the Government of India in the past to do all in their power to mitigate the inevitable difficulties which have arisen, and we look with confidence to Your Excellency's Government for active support in every legitimate measure to assist the trade of this country during the war and in the preparations necessary for an extension of that trade within the Empire in the days of peace which lie before us.

On this occasion we do not desire to do more than touch upon some of the principal matters which are engaging the serious attention of those interested in the trade of Bombay. One of the first of these matters is the important question of the agricultural development of India and particularly the necessity for the extension of cotton cultivation and the urgency for every support being given by Government to the extension and improvement of our crop as a factor in making the Empire self-supporting in cotton supplies in days to come.

We also desire to refer to the recent notifications of Government continuing the restrictions in the shipments of wheat and wheat flour and to express the hope that, while maintaining all measures which in any way prevent assistance being given to our enemies, Government may be in a position before long to remove all restrictions upon the free movements of produce within the Empire.

The outbreak of war found the Empire entirely unprepared in many respects in trade as in other even more vital matters. Owing to the absence of a supply of the dyes required by our cloth mills Bombay has suffered severely, and, unless prompt measures of relief are forthcoming, will suffer even more seriously in the future. We desire to bring to Your Excellency's notice the urgent necessity of pressing upon His Majesty's Government the claim of India to a full share in the available supply of dyes, thus avoiding the possibility of the stoppage of our looms and the serious consequences arising therefrom.

Even the existence of war conditions has not arrested the natural movement in India towards greater industrial expansion, and in the

Address of Welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Presidency, as in other parts of the country, the Local Government are inaugurating and supporting enquiries into the development of indigenous industries. We learn with pleasure that it is the intention of the Government of India to supplement these enquiries by undertaking a comprehensive survey of the indigenous industries of India, and in this matter we shall, if required, be glad to give our most cordial assistance and support.

In conclusion, we desire to express our earnest hope that Your Excellency's term of office may witness the entire defeat of our enemies and a return of peace and progress throughout the Empire. In every measure necessary to ensure a speedy and successful termination of the war, we need scarcely assure Your Excellency that Government will receive from us at all times every possible support.

With every assurance of our respect, etc.

In reply His Excellency said :—]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your cordial welcome to India and the good wishes you have expressed in your address.

No one is more conscious than I am of the many and varied problems which present themselves in this great land, and I am grateful for the promise of support which is contained in your address.

I deem myself fortunate in having resided for some sixteen months in this country prior to my assumption of office.

I do not suggest that I am thereby equipped at once to grapple with India's problems, but it has at least given me an opportunity of observing Indian aspirations and requirements from an angle of vision not often vouchsafed to a Viceroy.

I am glad of your tribute to the work of the British Navy. My arrival in Bombay in 1914 was coincident with the destruction of the *Emden* by His Majesty's Australian ship *Sydney*, and I can well recollect the relief expressed generally in Bombay and in India on that occasion.

*Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,
Bombay.*

You allude to the important question of agricultural and industrial development in India.

As you say, Lord Hardinge has taken the first step towards inaugurating an inquiry into the industries of India, and the methods required for fostering and developing them.

Without being so presumptuous as to indicate a line of policy within a few minutes of my arrival, I think I may assure you that any well-thought-out scheme of developing India's industries will have my whole-hearted support, not only because I regard it as incumbent upon every part of the Empire to do its best to repair the ravages of this terrible war, but because I look forward to the day when India will not only produce its raw material, but will be in a position to convert that raw material into finished articles for its own and the world's consumption.

You allude to certain other matters which affect trade arising out of the war. You will not expect me to reply to them, and I have a shrewd suspicion that your purpose has been served by including them in your address.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE INDIAN MERCHANTS'
CHAMBER AND BUREAU, BOMBAY.

[Subsequent to the presentation of the Bombay Chamber address, the Indian Merchants' Chamber presented their address, which was as follows :—

4th April
1916.

"May it please Your Lordship,—We, the President and Members of the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,

*Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,
Bombay.*

a body representing the large and varied interests of the Indian commercial community of the Presidency, embrace the present occasion to approach Your Lordship and offer our cordial welcome on your appointment by our Most Gracious Sovereign to the exalted office of Viceroy and Governor General of India.

Your Lordship will enter on that high office at a time when the commerce and industries of the world have been subjected to diverse and adverse influences in consequence of the terrible war which has unfortunately been raging for the past twenty months—influences from which, Your Lordship is aware, India has not escaped, though it may be freely acknowledged that the evils wrought have not been felt so intensely as they have been by the Allied Powers, who have been so bravely battling against the forces of barbarous militarism and despotic slavery. It is not, however, possible to forecast the time when this titanic struggle may cease, bringing triumph to those who have put forth their greatest strength and their best resources in the noble cause of the emancipation of the world's freedom and civilization in future from the thralldom of the atrocious forces above mentioned. But we all hope that the time is not distant when that consummation may be reached which might enable Your Lordship at no distant day to devote your entire attention in this country to the pursuit of the arts of peace and industry.

To the Indian community it was a source of great satisfaction that during the three years that preceded the war both the inland and foreign trade of this country was progressing most favourably along with the staple industries, thanks to the fostering care, great sympathy, and deep solicitude of the distinguished statesman now on his eve of retirement. Up till the end of July 1914 the sea-borne trade had taken great strides, so much so that the balance of trade, which was in previous years unfavourable to this country, had taken a satisfactory turn, owing to the larger and larger volume of exports and to the generally healthy condition of the country. It is superfluous, however, to inform Your Lordship how far Indian commerce and industries have suffered through this war and how greatly the sea-borne and inland trade has been crippled from the consequent depression. Greatly unfavourable as the condition has been, it has of late been intensely aggravated by reason of the unprecedented rise in freight of a prohibitive character which, if prolonged, threatens to cripple that trade even more than before. Though far

*Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,
Bombay.*

from taking an exceedingly pessimistic view of that condition, the mercantile community do not see that there are any immediate prospects of a material improvement. Nothing in the economic history of the world is so injurious to any nation as the paralysis of its home and foreign trade, but India is exceedingly grateful to the indomitable British Navy, which has kept such an unweary watch and ward over the high seas and enabled vessels carrying the Allied and neutral flags to move about with remarkable freedom from port to port. This undoubted naval supremacy of England has, it must be acknowledged, enabled the Indian world of commerce, along with all the oversea British Dominions, to go unmolested, and so far the country must acknowledge its warmest gratitude to that invincible Navy.

Already the economic and financial problems consequent on the war have been seriously engaging the attention of different nations of the world. These must eventually find a satisfactory solution in which India cannot but be reckoned with. We hope that when the time arrives the attention of Your Lordship's Government will be devoted, in the first instance, to some of those pressing and paramount problems which have been agitating the country and on which a satisfactory pronouncement is held essential. The elimination of German and Austrian trade with the Empire has led to a strong desire to develop indigenous industries, with which Your Lordship has great sympathy. In order that this desire may be translated into practice, greater Government co-operation and assistance are essential, of course coupled with self-help and private enterprise, on the lines on which this Chamber more than once recommended to representatives of Government at their interviews and in their memorials.

Further, it is the natural wish of the commercial community that India may be accorded a place in any conferences which may be held soon after the war so that her commercial and industrial interests may be properly safeguarded. There is also the all-absorbing question of fiscal autonomy, which will demand the highest consideration and consummate statesmanship by Your Lordship's Government, involving, as it does, the full emancipation in the near future of the country's trade and industries from all selfish interests and domination, be it of the United Kingdom or any other.

Another problem, not less important and pressing, has a relation to the existing railways and the method and manner in which the

*Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,
Bombay.*

transport service is at present carried on. A large number of feeder lines with or without State aid is still a crying want with a view to opening new markets in the interior. The inequality in the rates of moving staple commodities by railways from one place to another has been the subject of no little criticism by leading commercial bodies in different parts of the country, but it has hitherto found no radical solution, while it not a little hampers the full development of indigenous industries. Moreover, in some cases it acts as a protection to foreign goods, which is extremely undesirable.

Though for the past few years the attention of the Government has been fairly devoted to the improvement of agriculture, and though we recognize with gratitude that a fraction of the revenue has been expended by Government upon such an improvement, we feel that much more yet remains to be done in various directions, say with reference to the organisation of agricultural credit, the establishment of agricultural banks on sound principles, and a more liberal expenditure on agricultural education. State aid and State co-operation in this matter are absolutely essential. A cognate subject which also demands careful attention is irrigation by means of the construction of a large number of wells at a reasonable cost. Such well irrigation, which was once so prolific of benefit to agriculture, has been greatly neglected but now, with the almost near completion of larger works of irrigation among which may be mentioned the Nira Canal in this Presidency, it is felt that the time has come for devoting a fair attention to this all-important subject.

In conclusion, we beg to offer Your Lordship and Lady Chelmsford our warm welcome to this country and trust that, by the grace of Providence, Your Lordship will achieve a great success in the administration on which you are about to enter."

In reply His Excellency said :—]

I am delighted to receive an address from the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and I thank you for your cordial welcome.

*Address of Welcome from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau,
Bombay.*

We all of us deplore the grievous ravages to which the commerce and industries of the world have been subjected by this terrible war, and, like you, I look forward to the day when once more we shall be able to devote our entire attention to the pursuits of the arts of peace and industry.

But we must not take too gloomy a view of the situation. I would ask you to look abroad and compare your position with that of the Allied European countries. In them it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that trade is at a standstill and that all energies are devoted to the production of that horribly wasteful article—munitions of war.

You, however, in this favoured land, thanks to the might of the British Navy, have been able to carry on your avocations practically unimpeded. The past few months have, as I learn, been with you a period of remarkable prosperity as regards inland trade. The railways have made earnings which have passed all records. Cotton commands high prices. Your local mill industry is booming and shares in all well-managed mills stand high. The stocks of imported piece-goods which some months ago were heavy and threatened to be a heavy burden on the trading community have now disappeared into consumption at greatly enhanced prices.

I would bid you then take heart. You have no doubt suffered losses, but what losses have the United Kingdom, France, Russia, Belgium, and Servia endured?

And now for the future. I agree with you that this is the moment when we should institute enquiries into schemes of development during the years to come, when peace once more reigns upon the earth.

The Government of Bombay is already considering through a strong committee the question of the development of indigenous industries.

Address of Welcome from the Delhi Municipality.

The Government of India has also taken the first step towards inaugurating a wider and more general enquiry. I can assure you that any well-thought-out scheme for the development of Indian industries will at all times command my whole-hearted support.

I pass over the various minor matters to which you refer, as I have not at present the personal knowledge with regard to them which is requisite for a suitable reply. I have no doubt however that the Departments concerned will take note of them.

It is a great pleasure to me to meet the representatives of so great and flourishing a commercial community, and I again thank you on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself for your cordial welcome.

7th April
1916.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

[The Viceroy with Lady Chelmsford and his daughters and the members of His Excellency's personal staff arrived at Delhi on the 6th and were accorded a public reception. At the railway station, which had been prettily decorated, were drawn up a guard-of-honour of the local Volunteer Corps, and His Excellency was met by the Hon. Mr. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, Colonel Beadon, Deputy Commissioner, the Earl of Radnor, Commanding Delhi, Mr. Hadow, Superintendent of Police, and Captain Morrison, Station Staff Officer.

After inspection of the guard-of-honour a procession was formed, the escort consisting of the "W" and Wiltshire Batteries, the 32nd Lancers, and the Viceregal Bodyguard. The route was past Flagstaff Tower, whence the road was lined by British troops in garrison to Viceregal Lodge, where guards-of-honour were also drawn up. Here on the lawn awaiting Their Excellencies were the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Executive Council, a number of Ruling Chiefs, including the Maharajas of Jaipur, Jhallawar, Nabha and Bundi;

Address of Welcome from the Delhi Municipality.

the Nawabs of Maler Kotla, Jaora, and Loharu; the Rajas of Sailana and Dewas (Senior Branch); and also General Sir Shamsher Jung, of Nepal, and all the principal officials and residents and their families, including a good many ladies. Their Excellencies shook hands with all, after which Lord Chelmsford, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, the General Officer Commanding, and members of the Headquarters Staff, inspected the guards-of-honour.

On the morning of the 7th His Excellency received an address of welcome from the Delhi Municipality. Colonel Beadon, the President, read the address, which was as follows:—

"May it please Your Excellencies,—We, the President and Members of the Delhi Municipal Committee, feel it to be a great privilege to be allowed to address Your Excellencies on the occasion of your public arrival at Delhi. We especially appreciate the fact that the first public act of Your Excellency after arriving in India is to visit this historic city, which has lately assumed a new importance in the Indian Empire.

Our city at the present time is in a stage of transition. Until 1912 many of its institutions and its public services were in a backward state; but since that date, with the financial assistance of the Government of India, great improvements in sanitation and general administration have been effected. We feel confident that during Your Excellency's term of office your Government will continue to assist us in our labours to make our portion of Delhi worthy of its name and its position.

The local authorities are embarking on two town-planning schemes of unusual interest. The one is the construction of a broad road from the Queen's Bridge to the Ajmer Gate with a view to establishing new bazaars for grain and building material; the other is the Western Extension Scheme, which involves the creation of a new suburb west of the Ridge. Some progress has already been made, so the Committee hope to see these schemes arrive at maturity within the opening years of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

You, Madam, will find in this locality many philanthropic institutions which will arouse your interest and, we hope, secure your sympathetic support.

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

In conclusion we beg to express the hope that Your Excellencies with your family will enjoy health and happiness whilst residing in our midst."

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Let me thank you on my own and Lady Chelmsford's behalf for your cordial address of welcome.

I have made a point of paying my first public official visit to you inasmuch as His Majesty the King-Emperor has made your city the Capital of India and it would be indeed strange if I as Viceroy had passed you by.

Naturally your city is, as you say, in a stage of transition ; many things have to be done before your portion of Delhi can be regarded as worthy of its name and its position. And in view of the war it must be a lengthy period before these works can be completed.

I do not think however that any one can cavil at such inevitable delay and you who are more immediately concerned must possess your souls in patience.

You may rest assured that Lady Chelmsford will not only be interested in, but will give her sympathetic support to, the philanthropic institutions which have sprung up in and around your city.

I thank you again, Gentlemen, for your address of welcome.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL
CORPORATION.

11th April 1916. [His Excellency the Viceroy paid an informal visit to Calcutta shortly after assuming the Viceroyalty. In the afternoon of the 11th

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

April His Excellency received the Commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation in the Throne Room at Government House. The Chairman presented the following address :—

“ *May it please Your Excellency*,—We, the Chairman and Commissioners of the Corporation, on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta, beg leave to approach Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford with a most loyal and cordial welcome on the occasion of your first visit to this city after the assumption of your high office of Viceroy and Governor General of India.

2. It has hitherto been our proud privilege to welcome the representative of the Crown to Calcutta as the capital city of this great Empire; and we cannot conceal our deep regret that, for the first time in the history of British rule in India, we are receiving a new Viceroy merely as a visitor and not as a resident among us. Nevertheless, we feel truly grateful to Your Excellency for recognising the importance of this great city by visiting it immediately on assuming the reins of Government, more especially as by doing so at this season you have subjected yourself to some personal discomfort.

3. We cannot disguise the fact that Calcutta is not reconciled to the severance of its long and close connection with the Government of India. This city is the creation of British rule and British commerce; its birth, growth and expansion are closely interwoven with the inception and development of the Government of India. British as well as Indian interests, not only in Calcutta but in every part of India, cannot but suffer by the dissociation of the Supreme Government from this great trade centre and from the independent public opinion which no other city in the Indian Empire can offer in the same degree. We therefore earnestly hope that Your Excellency and the other Members of Your Excellency's Government will find it possible at least to make a long stay in this city in the course of each year, so that the great commercial interests which it represents may receive the full weight which they deserve in Your Excellency's councils.

4. The fact that Your Excellency has been so prominently connected with the London County Council, the greatest municipal administration in the world, is a source of special gratification to us as the civic authority of this second city of the Empire. We feel confident that the interests of Calcutta will loom largely in Your

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

Excellency's thoughts, and that you will evince the same care and solicitude as your distinguished predecessor, Lord Curzon, for its prosperity and development. We earnestly desire that this city may be given a larger measure of Local Self-Government, and we hope that this boon may be granted to us during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

5. Your Excellency comes to rule over India under the shadow of a world-wide conflict. Indeed, you yourself were bearing arms in the defence of the Empire when you were appointed to your present exalted office. It is hardly necessary for us to assure Your Excellency that, like the rest of the vast Empire under the benign rule of His Imperial Majesty, our beloved Sovereign, to whose throne we are so deeply and inalienably attached, the citizens of Calcutta have been most fervently praying for a speedy and victorious termination of this, the most devastating war in the history of mankind. We devoutly hope that long before Your Excellency's term of office comes to an end the British Empire will have regained its former prosperity in a richer and more enduring form for the trial through which it has passed, and that contentment and happiness will once more dwell in every home in this country, which has sent its sons to fight the battle of the great Empire to which it is proud to belong and which will share in the pride and glory of the victorious Motherland.

6. Turning now to our local affairs, the only matter to which we beg leave to refer is the impending amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act. This enactment has been under consideration for some years, but we have reason to believe that, although the Bill has been drafted, there will be some delay before it is introduced in the Legislative Council. If this delay is likely to be prolonged, we venture respectfully to draw Your Excellency's attention to the urgent necessity of proceeding with the amendment of certain provisions of the present Act which are admittedly defective and the revision of which would be, as far as we are aware, non-contentious. These relate to the adulteration of food and drugs, the improvement of the milk-supply of the city and other matters affecting the efficiency of our administration and the health and amenities of the city.

7. In conclusion we may be permitted to express our entire confidence that Your Excellency's great administrative and statesmanlike abilities which have been already so successfully tested in Australia will enable you to rule over the vast millions of India, whose welfare

Address of Welcome from the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

and destinies are entrusted to your care, with justice and benevolence. We now beg leave once more to express our deep gratitude for Your Lordship's visit and hope that we shall have the happiness of seeing Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford in residence in our midst for at least a portion of each winter season.

Wishing Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford long life, health, and happiness, we subscribe ourselves as Your Excellency's most humble servants."

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Mr. Chairman and Commissioners,—I thank you for your cordial welcome to myself and Lady Chelmsford. A representative of His Majesty need never fear as to the reception he is likely to get in any part of the Empire.

In India this must especially be the case where His Majesty is, by his title, in a particular degree identified with the well-being of his subjects, and no one who looks back to His Majesty's visit on the occasion of the celebration of his coronation—the first visit of a British Sovereign to these shores—can fail to remember His Majesty's sympathy and interest.

Personally, I have made a point of coming to you at the earliest possible moment, as I realized that I was the first Viceroy who would have his capital elsewhere than in Calcutta. I come, not to awake the smouldering embers of controversy—for I, as well as you, have to accept accomplished facts—but in recognition of the historic position of your city. To me its governance must be of a special interest, as one who, for the greater part of his public life, has been identified with municipal activity. Sometimes I could wish that men would realize more fully—whether as electors or as administrators—the pre eminent importance of municipal administration which so intimately touches the community in its every-day life.

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

You refer to your local affairs, and especially to the impending amendment of your Municipal Act. You will not expect me at this early stage to commit myself in any way upon the subject ; but I can assure you that such matters as you refer to, affecting the health and amenities of your city, cannot be of indifference to me.

You express the hope that I and other members of the Government will find it possible to make a long stay in your city in the course of each year. For myself, I hope to reside amongst you for some portion of this next winter season ; but you must not endeavour to exact from me promises which events may render impossible of fulfilment. India is a vast place, and my responsibilities extend to the whole of it. It is my ambition to travel widely and frequently, and it would be at least unwise for me to pledge myself in advance in respect of a yearly visit.

With you, I earnestly pray for a speedy and victorious termination of this devastating war ; but such an end can only come when a lasting and enduring peace has been secured by the might of our arms. The heroic souls of our Indian soldiers would surely rise up in judgment against us if any consummation short of this were achieved.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE SIMLA MUNICIPALITY.

27th April 1916. [His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, their daughters and staff, arrived in Simla on the 20th April and were accorded a public reception. On the 27th idem the Municipality presented an address to the Viceroy at Viceregal Lodge.]

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

The address, which was as follows, was read by Colonel Burlton, the President :—

“ *May it please Your Excellency*,—We, the President and Members of the Municipal Committee of Simla, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a cordial welcome to the Summer Head-quarters of Your Excellency’s Government. The thought that Your Excellency has lived quite recently in our midst, and that a portion of Your Excellency’s childhood was spent in Simla, where Your Excellency’s father filled an exalted position in the Military Department of the Government of India, is a source of extreme gratification to us and to our fellow-citizens. We rest assured that the development of this town will receive Your Excellency’s fostering care.

2. We beg to tender to Your Excellency our respectful and hearty congratulations on the assumption of the high office of Viceroy and Governor General of India to which His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to appoint you. Your Excellency has taken over the Government of this vast and interesting country at a time of great anxiety, but we have every confidence that, long before Your Excellency’s term of office has come to an end, the British Empire will have emerged victoriously from this world-war and have its reward in an increase of prosperity and happiness for the courage with which it has faced this trial. We feel sure that we shall be forgiven for referring to Your Excellency’s distinguished services to the Empire both at Home, where Your Excellency was intimately connected with the London County Council—a fact in which we as a municipality take a particular pride—and abroad, where the successful administration of important colonies was undertaken by Your Excellency. Your Excellency has also found time to serve His Majesty as an officer of the Territorial Forces. We can sincerely affirm that Your Excellency’s appointment to this country has been received with acclamation.

3. Turning to our local affairs we would bring to Your Excellency’s notice the fact that the report of the Simla Improvement Committee of 1907 has been acted upon, and we thank Your Excellency’s Government for the sympathetic consideration which it has given to the recommendations of the Improvement Committee of 1914. Though these recommendations, so far as expenditure is concerned, have had to be deferred to normal times, yet we venture to suggest to Your Excellency’s Government that the legislation proposed by the above

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

Committee may be carried out at an early date in the interests of public safety, health and convenience, so that a municipality, entrusted with the well-being of an important station such as Simla, may be armed with powers similar to those enjoyed by local bodies in England. Another matter which we believe is under the consideration of Your Excellency's Government and which would strengthen municipal authority is the inclusion within the municipal boundaries of certain outlying areas, and we trust that this matter will receive Your Excellency's sympathetic attention.

4. We pray that Your Excellency may be preserved in health and strength to carry out the arduous duties of your high office."

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Mr. President and Members of the Municipal Committee of Simla,—In accepting your address, allow me to thank you, on my own behalf and that of Lady Chelmsford, for the kindly welcome you extend to us on arriving in your midst. As you have indicated, Simla to me is familiar ground. The recollections of days of childhood spent here are not sufficiently distinct for me to embark upon a comparison of municipal conditions as they were in the seventies and as they now reveal themselves. But last year, in the course of my duties as a Territorial officer at Jutogh, I had some opportunity of observing your achievements and your difficulties, and was most favourably impressed with the manner in which you were coping with the expanding needs of this growing community. I observed also that you had acquired that hallmark of ambitious and efficient municipalities, the desire to absorb your neighbours. Much, however, remains to be done. Problems of sanitation, water-supply, congested traffic and congested population await solution. Simla has long since emerged from the vague status it held in early days and has taken an established place as the summer capital of the Government of India. It is, perhaps, open to question whether your municipal development might not have been

Address of Welcome from the Simla Municipality.

planned on bolder lines at an earlier stage of your growth; but it is easy to be wise after the event, and similar criticisms might be applied to the municipal evolution of most towns. The recommendations of the Improvement Committee, to which you refer, represent an attempt to deal with the problems as they stand to-day, now that you have an established railway connection with the plains and are confronted with ever-widening responsibilities.

At this juncture, however, the financial stringency created by this disastrous war blocks the way, but, Gentlemen, I share with you the hope that better times are at hand and that the solution of your problems will not be long delayed.

You refer to my personal interest in municipal affairs. In thanking you for your good wishes, I give you my assurance that, both as a resident in your municipal borders and as the head of the Supreme Government, whose health and comfort are committed to your charge, I shall not fail to extend that interest to the work of the Simla Municipality.

ANNUAL MEETING OF ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION IN SIMLA.

[The annual meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association was held in the evening of the 26th June at Viceregal Lodge. Among those present were the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Maharaja of Patiala, Sir Reginald and Lady Craddock, Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Hill and Mrs. Hill, Sir William Meyer, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Pardey and Lady Lukis, Sir Edward and Lady MacLagan, Sir James Roberts, the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Wood, the Hon'ble Mr. A. H. Grant, Colonel Scott, Lieutenant Colonel Bayley, Mr. J. L. Maffey, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterill, Archdeacon Warlow, and Colonel Hendley.

24th June
1916.

The Commander-in-Chief as Chairman of the Indian Council presented the annual report. He said the report showed a considerable increase in the work during the past year. It was most satisfactory

Annual Meeting of St. John Ambulance Association in Simla.

to see how widely the branches had spread, but the membership was not all that could be desired. There were only three thousand members. India might do better than that. The All-India Ambulance Competition would have to be abandoned owing to the war.

Colonel Hendley gave a detailed account of the work of the Association. He said :

To give some idea of the work that has been done in the past year in connection with the St. John Ambulance Association it is necessary to revert to the beginning of the war. Forty-eight hours after the news of the outbreak of war was received Red Cross work in connection with the India Branch was inaugurated throughout India. Ladies working parties where they did not exist were formed and Red Cross gifts commenced to pour in. Very soon it became necessary to systematise the preparation of these gifts and lists of articles that would be ordinarily required for extras such as are provided by the Red Cross were drawn up for each bed. These were known, when applied to 10 beds, as units. Since the 10th August 1914 8,301 of units have been prepared providing for 83,910 beds. When a sufficient number of original units had been received a new unit called the replacement unit was revised and of these replacement units, each of which again represented 10 beds, 599 have been made up and despatched. Later on the other units were arranged for such as a surgical operation box and smoking boxes for the European and Indian soldiers. Special grants of money were arranged for and placed at the disposal of the senior nursing sisters to be used at their discretion for the benefit of the sick and wounded. Articles were sent to hospital-ships, ambulance trains and a special bag, called the kit bag, was designed to supply convalescent soldiers as they left their hospitals with such things as would be then most acceptable. Up to the end of December last 2,047 of these bags had been received and distributed. On the 25th August 1914 a St. John Ambulance Depot was opened at Bombay and through it a stream of Red Cross gifts at once commenced to flow so that at the end of December 1915 the approximate value of the articles forwarded came to Rs. 14,25,000 or £95,000 sterling. Besides all this work outside India the Association arranged for a cash grant of Rs. 5 per bed for Indian wounded in India and in addition, provided warm clothing, etc., to the value of Rs. 10 a bed involving an expenditure of Rs. 50,000. Something similar was done for the depot of regimental hospitals in which wounded were received.

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Just recently we have undertaken to equip with Red Cross gifts the new war hospitals at Deolali, Poona, Nasik, and Secunderabad at a cost of Rs. 50,000. We have also been able to utilise the St. John Ambulance Brigade personnel. They have been all through used on duty at the Bombay Docks in connection with the landing of sick and wounded from hospital-ships. They have assisted in the unloading of ambulance trains at Lahore and Lucknow, a considerable number have been employed in military hospitals at Bombay and a detachment of 100 European and Anglo-Indian members of the Brigade is doing military duty in British general hospitals and at the base in Mesopotamia. We have also arranged for the employment of St. John Ambulance nurses. Three trained nurses were employed at the Karachi Military Hospital. Since then 40 have been enrolled and are acting as a reserve for the Queen Alexandra's Military Nursing Service.

Something too has been done by the Indian Branch for Indian soldiers in England. A sum of £1,000 was remitted to the London headquarters on this account besides articles in bond to the value of £18,000. The Indian Council also established an Indian ward in the war hospital of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in London. This was called the Empire of India Ward and contained 25 beds. It has been fully endowed and the endowment of a second ward is nearly completed. For this purpose Rs. 59,000 has been transmitted to the London headquarters. That we have been able to do this is due to endowments for beds presented by a number of generous donors in India, whose names will be found in the fourth interim report. Arrangements have been made to distribute religious books to the Indian sick and wounded in hospitals in Europe. Substantial donations have been made to the Red Cross Societies of the Allies and consignments of useful articles despatched to them and, through the Council's appeals, a large number of gifts have been sent to the English Fleet. Books on hygiene have been distributed to the Territorials in India. A donation has been made to the Belgian Doctors' Relief Fund and assistance rendered in all directions in connection with Red Cross work generally.

As to more special work I would draw attention to the war hospital at Dehra Dun which was opened last August for the reception of severe cases amongst wounded and sick officers, rank and file, requiring electrical and surgical treatment. I ought to say that this became possible by the Government of India generously permitting us to

Annual Meeting of St. John Ambulance Association in Simla.

utilise their very complete installation of X-ray and electrical apparatus at Dehra Dun and giving us the services of the Superintendent, who was made Commandant of the hospital. The actual accommodation provided was for 2 British and 2 Indian officers, 4 rank and file of British and 20 rank and file of Indian troops at a cost of Rs. 2,000 a bed per annum. The beds were endowed for a period of twelve months by the generosity of European and Indian donors in India. These endowments are now lapsing. Some, however, have already been replaced and we hope others will be in due course. Everybody who has visited this hospital speaks in the highest terms of its comfort and efficiency. The wards and rooms are lighted by electricity and there are electric fans for the summer and radiators for the winter, while each is surrounded by a large and well-kept garden. So satisfactory has this hospital been that the Government of India has contributed on a liberal scale towards an extension for 10 British officers and 30 men at Mussoorie in the summer and we hope to be able to open at Dehra in the winter months.

The Council has provided a fleet of 45 motor ambulances at a cost of Rs. 1,50,000, now working at the front in co-operation with war hospitals in India and it has been arranged for 21 additional cars which are on their way from Europe or have been delivered.

As to the special work that has been and will be done in the future for Mesopotamia I may say that we have provided comforts for the sick and wounded to the value of Rs. 2,20,000. We have already supplied five ordinary motor boats and two large ambulance flats for the transport of sick and wounded; and two motor launches are under construction in Calcutta providing accommodation for altogether about 60 patients. Recently we have despatched a complete equipment of hospital comforts, clothing and appliances valued at Rs. 80,000. For the new 3,000-bed hospital at Amara we have undertaken to supply comforts at the estimated cost of Rs. 70,000 per mensem. A very special contribution towards medical work in Mesopotamia has been the provision of a mobile laboratory for use on the Tigris and a second one is under construction. Nothing that I can say will sufficiently and satisfactorily describe the value of these laboratories not only as to the health of troops at the present but without doubt to the advantage of the people in Mesopotamia for all time. A great advance that we have made recently in connection with our work in Mesopotamia has been the appointment of a Red Cross representative at Basra, who is in

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charge of the Red Cross Depot to which in the future all our consignments will be made. Already he has been able to do a great deal towards simplifying the despatch of comforts to the different units in Mesopotamia, and there is no doubt that not only shall we be able to ensure that our comforts arrive expeditiously at their destination, but that they will go to the places where they are most required. He is regularly keeping us in touch with the necessities of the different hospitals and we are now able to let our workers know more certainly what articles are most necessary, what articles are in excess, and what we should probably require in the near future. Mainly owing to his representations we have ceased to supply articles on the unit system and we are sending them instead in bulk and separately. This is likely to prove a more economical system than the other.

In returning thanks for the support accorded the Association Colonel Hendley made special reference to the assistance of the Indian Railways which had allowed free transport for Red Cross goods.

Continuing he said :—

I feel that it is incumbent upon me to refer to the splendid work done for the Council by Lady Carmichael in Bengal, Lady Pentland in Madras, Lady Willingdon in Bombay, Lady O'Dwyer in the Punjab, Lady Meston in the United Provinces, Lady Earle in Assam, and Lady Robertson in the Central Provinces, and to express on behalf of the Indian Council its very grateful acknowledgments for their generous and substantial support.

Before I conclude I must refer to the loss the Association has sustained in the departure of its General Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Blackham, for Europe. It is well known what an active part he took in Red Cross work up to the time of his leaving India, work that had been rendered more easy of attainment by his indefatigable efforts on behalf of the St. John Ambulance Association in the years previously.

It would be difficult to say, however, what the position of the Association would have been but for the devotion to the work which Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, has given at all times, so that it has gone on smoothly and efficiently under his control. The Council wishes to acknowledge the services of the acting General Secretary, Mr. W. G. A. Hanrahan,

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His Excellency the Viceroy then spoke as follows :—]

Let me first thank Your Excellency for the welcome which you have accorded to Lady Chelmsford and myself on the occasion of our first public association with the work of the Indian Branch of St. John's Ambulance Association. I can assure you it is work which is congenial to both of us, and we are not unfamiliar with its manifold activities in other climes, where we have seen and admired it. In this time of war our thoughts are necessarily concentrated on certain features of St. John's work, which do not strictly belong to the ordinary work of the Association, but can hardly be said to be alien to it. But like every other organisation in nature, the Association has quickly adapted itself to its change of environment, and for the time being it has developed itself more particularly on that side which has called for the exercise of its energies. But this, as you will presently see, has not led to the abrogation of its normal functions, but merely to their temporary supersession by more urgent and more immediate needs. And, after all, connection with war is no new thing in the history of the Order of St. John's. From the foundation of its first hospital in Jerusalem "for poor and sick Latin pilgrims" at a date anterior to the Norman Conquest down to Napoleonic times the Order has almost had more to do with war than with peace; and who knows but that this stern trial, which has tested and strained all our institutions, sent our men from the desk and the counter to the stricken field and transformed all our lives, will not in this work of St. John's reinspire its life, give it new meaning and consecrate its purpose.

With this preface let me deal briefly with the two sides of its activities, the normal and the war side.

I hope the public will not be dissatisfied with the record of the year's work which is put before it in the two reports

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which have been compiled—the one dealing with the Indian branch proper, or what may be called the civil side, the other with its separate war department. Taking the Report for the year ending September 30th, 1915, you will find that there are now 275 centres of the Association in India as compared with 14 in 1907, and representing a substantial advance on the figures of 1914, but I trust that, during the period of my Presidency of the Indian Council, an even greater advance may be made, and that no district of any importance in India may be without its own properly-constituted local centre of the St. John's Ambulance Association. Another matter, to which I would allude, the importance of which you will all recognise, is the matter of membership. It can hardly be said that a membership of 3,000 in this vast country is adequate. And yet the life of a society of this nature must depend on adequate membership. I do not venture to suggest a cause for this, but I would urge upon the Council to give their close attention to this matter and *upon the people of India* to help the Indian Council with their generous co-operation. The conspicuous generosity of many of the Princes and Chiefs has been a striking example of what can be done to help on this great movement; and inasmuch as it is a movement mainly for the benefit of the people of India, it is only right and proper that its need should be brought to their notice and their support and co-operation claimed.

That brings me to the financial position of this branch of the Association work. The statement you have heard from the Honorary Treasurer is later than the one in the bound report, having been specially brought up to the present month.

I think you will agree with me in regarding it as satisfactory and encouraging, for we find ourselves in the happy position of possessing a cash balance of over Rs. 1,00,000, an increase of Rs. 60,000 on last year, but we must not lay too great stress

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on this, for, as you will observe, it is largely due to some very generous donations, a list of which and of the Donors you will find on page 86 of the Annual Report.

Turning next to the instructional work of the Association, you will not be surprised to find that the numbers have fallen off from 15,000 to 14,000, but I think we may hope that what was wanting in quantity has been made up in quality, for 7,500 passed the tests as compared with 6,400 last year.

I must now turn to the war work of the Association and you will perhaps forgive me if I make one or two observations of a general character with regard to that which in my opinion must be the guiding principle which should govern the relations of Voluntary Help and Government Action.

At the outset of the war I found myself elected Chairman of the Australian Association for the supply of articles for the Australian Expeditionary Force. I went straight to the War Office and asked what they would like us to supply. Their reply was very brief and to the point. They gave me a list of the medical requirements which they said it was their duty to supply as necessaries. If we chose to supplement them, well and good; but it would be best for us to confine ourselves to such articles as might be described as additional comforts and luxuries, if such a word can be used to describe anything which goes to alleviate pain and suffering.

I think this may be said to describe broadly the borderline between Government Action and Voluntary Help. Government is bound to supply the necessities of medical accommodation and equipment—always remembering this that, with the march of science, the so-called luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of to-day, and it is for Voluntary Help to supplement, if they will, Government Action. but in the main to provide those things that will smooth the pillow of the stricken soldier.

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Now what this Association has done in this respect you can read for yourselves in the report before you. It is a record of work done of which any association might well be proud. I sincerely trust you will all read it, and I do not think it is a work of supererogation to urge this upon you. It would be an interesting study in statistics to make out what percentage of copies of reports which are issued are ever read by the people into whose hands they come.

But I think, if you read the report, you will agree with me that the Association have gone on from one activity to another, always keeping in view the welfare of the sick and wounded.

They have not confined their energies to collecting and forwarding gifts. You can read what they have done for the hospitals, and I would especially draw your attention to the Indian wards established in the War Hospital of the Order of St. John in London which were made possible by some notable contributions; to the Hospital at Dehra Dun, where electrical treatment is provided; to the Military War Hospital and the Dépôt Hospitals for wounded in India, and to the Frontier War Hospitals. Again our *personnel* has been very active on duty at the Bombay Docks, the unloading of hospital ships and ambulance trains, in the hospitals and as hospital orderlies in Bombay and Mesopotamia. We have now a considerable fleet of motor ambulance, if such a term is permissible in connection with motors. But you can read of all these activities in the report, and I will not dilate on them. I would ask you to look especially at page 10, where a summary of the work in Mesopotamia is set forth.

And now finally I should like to inform you of a change which has taken place in the constitution of this side of the St. John's work.

Address of Welcome from the All-India Christian Conference.

The Indian Council of the St. John's Ambulance Association has decided to affiliate itself to the Joint War Committee in England of St. John's and the Red Cross under the title of "The Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and of the British Red Cross Society." I feel sure that you will approve of this step which, while it leaves the civil side of the St. John's Ambulance Association untouched, is calculated to promote efficiency as regards Red Cross work and to ensure prompt supplies of comforts to the sick and wounded, while it eliminates all possibilities of overlapping and friction. As an earnest of this agreement I may say the Joint War Committee in England have placed the sum of £30,000 to my credit for the furtherance of the work of the new Branch.

I feel I cannot conclude without congratulating Sir Pardey Lukis and the Executive Committee on the results of their year's work and expressing my hope that they will continue to have the support of the public in India which their record for the past twelve months has so well deserved.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE ALL-INDIA CHRISTIAN
CONFERENCE.

1st August 1916. [His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the All-India Christian Conference at Viceregal Lodge on the 1st August. The deputation was fully representative of the community and amongst those present were Raja Sir Harnam Singh, the Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das, Mr. Joseph, Mr. J. C. Dutt, Mr. S. C. Mookerji, Mr. Manaprokasam and Dr. Joshi. Mr. M. S. Das read the address, which was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the All-India Indian Christian Conference which represents the Indian Christian Associations in different parts of India and Burma, we beg to offer to Your Excellency our sincere, respectful, and loyal welcome.

Address of Welcome from the All-India Christian Conference.

We are sincerely grateful to His Gracious Majesty for having selected Your Excellency as the Viceroy of India, His Majesty's representative in the largest country in the British Empire. The different nations assembled in the war zones under the British flag have realized, as they never did before, the relation of the Colonies with this Dependency ; India in her turn has been drawn towards the Colonies, and the loyalty and devotion of the immense population of the vast British Empire cast a halo round the British throne adding to its original glory.

At a time like the present when events have necessitated the determination of India's status and position in the British Empire, no one is so eminently qualified to fill the exalted office of the Viceroy of India as is Your Excellency, by reason of your experience as the Governor of Queensland and subsequently of New South Wales.

The Indian Christian community heartily joins other communities in the resolution to uphold the dignity and honour of the British throne in the present crisis. The Indian Christians realize their additional responsibilities arising from the fact that our Gracious Sovereign bears the noble title of the "Defender of the Faith," and that the present war is a dastardly attempt by the Germans to obliterate from this world the invaluable benefits which mankind have received from the message of 'on earth peace and good-will toward men' in the course of nearly two thousand years.

The Indian Christian community was threatened with extinction during the days of the Indian Mutiny, but through the grace of God it has more than doubled since 1881 ; the number of Indian Christians has multiplied nearly three-fold since 1872 ; its percentage of literate men and women is considerably higher than is to be found among our Hindu and Mahomedan brethren ; it stands foremost in its appreciation of the noble aims of the British Indian administration, and in measures necessary for the defence of the Empire it has a common interest with the ruling race. In the light of these facts the Indian Christians acknowledge with gratitude the recent decision of the Government to recruit an Indian Christian battalion in the Punjab. We assure Your Excellency that every member of the community would welcome an opportunity to serve his King and his country at any sacrifice at the present crisis to the Empire.

Address of Welcome from the All-India Christian Conference.

From the peculiar position which Indian social life has enforced upon Indian Christians, they have special needs which were mentioned in a letter addressed by the President of the Council of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians to the Secretary to the Government of India on 24th March 1916. We beg leave to solicit Your Excellency's personal attention to it.

May the Giver of all blessings grant to Your Excellency health and energy to rule over us, and that when in the fulness of time you lay down the reins of your exalted office, your rule may be associated in the grateful hearts of millions with peace, prosperity and progress, is our sincere prayer. We beg leave to associate Lady Chelmsford's name in this prayer.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,— It is with great pleasure that I have received from you on behalf of the All-India Christian Conference your kindly address of welcome, and I thank you for your personal references to Lady Chelmsford and to myself which, I need hardly say, I greatly appreciate.

I am glad to know from you that the Indian Christian community, equally with their fellow-citizens of other denominations in this country, are determined to support the Empire in its righteous struggle for justice and liberty. It was with great satisfaction that the Government of India sanctioned the recruitment of four Indian Christian Double Companies in the Punjab, and thus enabled the community to contribute its quota towards the defence of the Empire. It is a still greater pleasure to me to know that the military authorities have been fully satisfied with the experiment, and that the work and conduct of the newly-recruited officers and men have been excellent. I have also heard with interest of the good social work done by many young Indian Christians in connection with the Young Men's Christian Association in ministering to the needs of Indian soldiers at the front.

Address of Welcome from the All-India Christian Conference.

I should like to congratulate you, and through you the Indian Christian community, on the great educational and social progress that you have made and are still making. Your community stands among the highest in respect of literacy not only among men, but also among women, and I am convinced that this fact will enable you to play an increasingly useful part in the development of your community and country.

For the special needs of your community you refer me to a letter addressed to the Home Department of my Government on the 24th March 1916. I find that the specific requests made therein were :—

First, that when nominations are made for the next Imperial Council an Indian Christian may be nominated to represent the community ; and

Secondly, that when the Regulations for the nomination and election of Additional Members are next revised they may be modified so as to provide for an elected representative of the Indian Christian community on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

When that letter came before me I gave it my full consideration before approval of the reply from the Home Department, contained in its letter No. 392, dated the 23rd May last, which pointed out the present difficulties in the way of meeting your community's wishes, but promised that they would not be forgotten if and when modifications in the constitution of the Councils came under consideration.

I regret that I am not in a position to add anything at present to what was said in that letter, but I can assure you that your claims to representation in the Legislative Councils

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— both Imperial and Provincial — have received, and always will continue to receive, my sympathetic and fullest consideration.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I beg once more to thank you for your friendly welcome.

MEETING AT THE Y.M.C.A. IN SIMLA ON ARMY WORK.

25th August 1916. [There was a large attendance at the Army Y.M.C.A. meeting held at Simla on the 25th August. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

Mr. P. V. Blanchard, in addressing the audience, said that the growth of the Y.M.C.A. work in the Gulf had been almost phenomenal. Beginning about a year ago in a bamboo hut at Basra, it was now carrying on its work in 19 district centres and employing a corps of over 40 secretaries.

The Rev. D. L. A. Dixon remarked that the aims of the Y.M.C.A. with the British and Colonial troops had always been to meet the needs of the individual soldier, to keep him happy and contented, and to render him generally more efficient. These had been the main objectives in Mesopotamia in the work for both British and Indian troops.

Major-General Bingley alluded to the excellent work the Y.M.C.A. had done and continued to do in France, England, Salonika, the Dardanelles, Egypt, East Africa, and Mesopotamia. He spoke highly of their various activities in different theatres of war.

His Excellency the Viceroy then addressed the meeting and said:—]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was glad to accept Sir Reginald Craddock's invitation to preside at this meeting of the Y.M.C.A.; now I am more than glad I accepted that invitation, because, in common with all of you, I have been

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entranced this afternoon by the thrilling and modest story which has been told us by Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Dixon.

Mr. Blanchard did not, however, inform us that he was one of those Rhodes' scholars who had given up Oxford for a wider university, and I think he will probably admit that he had learned more in the class rooms of Mesopotamia than at Oxford.

Nor did Mr. Dixon say, and I presume he did not allow Mr. Blanchard to say so, that he was the one who started this great work about which we have listened to an account this evening.

Mr. Blanchard did talk of the fine spirit of the English soldier, but I think all of us who have listened to these gentlemen will say we will talk of the fine spirit of the men who have gone out to minister to the needs of the soldier. Indeed I am confident that not one word too much can be said on behalf of the Y.M.C.A.

I have known it for many years in different Colonies, Queensland and New South Wales, and also in London, and have presided in all these places over meetings of the Y.M.C.A.

Some years ago the Y.M.C.A. was regarded as a place where good young men used to congregate who were not as other men and had not such stuff in them. I think that idea has been dying of recent years; in fact the feats of Y.M.C.A. clubs all over the world, whether in athletics or in any other department, shew them to be men with real stuff in them, and now this war has quite exploded the idea, as it has many others. General Bingley has taken you across the world from the Western front to the Easternmost position in Mesopotamia,

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and I feel sure that there are many men who thank their stars that they have come into contact and touch with the Y.M.C.A.

When General Bingley and Sir William Vincent returned from Mesopotamia the other day I asked them about their visit and they both spoke to me in the most enthusiastic terms of what this Association was doing out there and they have put it on record. I then wrote to Sir Percy Lake and asked him if he would do as much as he could for the work of the Association and he replied that he was ready to receive as many institutes as could be sent out and accommodated, and these are the particular words he used in his letter :—

“ I have an intensely high opinion of the work of the Y.M.C.A. with the troops; it is almost beyond praise.”

‘ Good wine needs no bush ’ and the Y.M.C.A., now, I think, needs no commendation. They have come into their own and I should only like in conclusion to say how very proud I am to have been on the platform with Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Dixon and supported the good work they have been doing in Mesopotamia.

[Sir Reginald Craddock in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman praised the fine patriotism of His Excellency which he had shown by coming out to this country as a Territorial officer.

Subscriptions to the amount of Rs. 23,500 were announced which included Rs. 5,000 from the Council of Regency, Bahawalpur, Rs. 1,000 from His Highness the Raja of Faridkot; Rs. 500 each from Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kapurthala and the Raja of Bilaspur, the Nawab of Malerkotla and the Simla Amateur Dramatic Club and Rs. 1,500 from the Punjab Commission War Fund.]

FIRST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,
SIMLA SESSION, 1916.

[There was a crowded attendance at the opening meeting of the 5th September 1916. Among those present in the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge were Lady Chelmsford, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir George Roos-Keppel, and Sir William Vincent, while a large number of ladies attended in the public gallery.]

As this was the first meeting of the third Council since Lord Minto's reformed Council came into being, all the members, with the exception of the Executive Council members, were required to take the oath, and this necessitated the prescribed affirmation of allegiance to the Crown being taken by 44 members, an operation which took over 30 minutes. In all, 56 members of the Council, including the Viceroy, were present. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, the Raja of Mahmudabad, and Mr. D. E. Wacha being among the absentees.

Lord Chelmsford then spoke as follows:—]

I regard it as a privilege to be able to welcome here to-day the third Imperial Legislative Council since the reform of the Council under Lord Minto. I, as a new Viceroy, meet a new Council and I have every hope and confidence that in the days before us we shall work together for the good of India in a spirit of co-operation and good-will. For my part, I can assure you that it is my earnest desire to maintain unimpaired those harmonious relations which have always existed between the Council and my predecessors, and I lay great store on enlisting your help and I am emboldened to believe that that help will always be forthcoming.

In welcoming you to day I should like to refer to the absence of one who has long assisted in your debates, being, I am informed, the most senior Member of the last Council. I refer to Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, who has sat in this Council

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for a period of about 12½ years. We shall all, I am sure, regret that he has felt unable to embark on a further term of office amongst us.

Under the present constitution of our Council, the number of unallotted seats which I can dispose of by nomination is very small, and the exercise of this power has given me much anxious thought and consideration. I have weighed with the utmost care the claims and needs of the important communities and classes who can only be provided for by this method. There seems to me, however, to be one class which at this juncture has pre-eminent claims to furnish a representative to this Council. Its gallant deeds on the battle-fields of the Empire, its loyalty under circumstances often of great strain, and its patience under climatic and other hardships, have earned a right to our gratitude and affection. I refer to the sword-arm of our Indian Empire, His Majesty's Indian Forces. It was, therefore, a great pleasure to me to be able to find a representative of the Army whom I could nominate to this Council in the person of that gallant soldier and distinguished officer, Subadar-Major and Honorary Captain Ajab Khan, Sardar Bahadur, I.O.M., who has taken his seat here for the first time to-day.

I need hardly say that it is with great regret that I find myself in consequence of this nomination unable to secure representation on this Council of other communities. It is a question for consideration, I think, whether the Viceroy's powers of nomination should not be further enlarged.

I should now like to give you a resumé of the more salient features of interest since the last meeting of Council. I have on two occasions exercised the powers conferred on me by

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section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1915, and legislated by Ordinance. Both of these Ordinances deal with urgent situations created by the war. The first, the Import and Export of Goods Ordinance, 1916, confers very wide, but necessary, power to check the machinations of our enemies in respect more particularly of their endeavours to trade through neutral countries. The second, the Enemy Trading Ordinance, 1916, amplifies our control of trading in this country by subjects of enemy countries, whether directly or by more subtle means, and confers upon us powers which, I hope, will enable us to eradicate the taint of German and Austrian influence in the commerce of this country. Both measures are in pursuance of the general trade policy laid down by the Imperial Government which emphasises the fixed determination of all our dominions not to allow the re-establishment after this terrible war of the dominating influence which our enemies had so astutely achieved for themselves in many parts of our commercial world. As you are aware, Ordinances of this kind are limited in duration and we are asking you at the very earliest opportunity to confirm my action by embodying as Acts of this Council the emergency measures taken in the period intervening between the last and the present session. As to the other legislation that will be presented for your consideration, it will be of the usual type dealt with in our September sessions. Such of it as we shall ask you to pass into law is, in our opinion, non-controversial and unimportant in character; and in so far as we deal with more important measures, we are taking the opportunity afforded us by this session of advancing them a stage, postponing their consideration for our fuller session at Delhi in the cold weather.

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I turn now to discuss briefly proposals for legislation, which for one reason or another cannot be undertaken immediately, but with which progress has been made since this Council last met. As you are aware, it was decided to postpone further consideration in Council of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill which was introduced in March 1914 until after the war, but following the precedent taken with success in the case of the Bill for the revision of the Civil Procedure Code in 1907, and in order that the matter may be ripe for your consideration when the time arrives, I have decided to appoint a small committee to settle definitely the shape in which the measure will eventually be brought before this Council. The committee on which the legal representation will be particularly strong will be presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Lowndes and will assemble in Simla about the middle of this month.

Another measure which has come under consideration is the general revision and consolidation of the Court Fees Act of 1870, which experience has shown to be out of date and defective. A draft amending Bill has now been prepared and circulated for the views of Local Governments.

The very difficult and important question of usury in this country and of appropriate remedies to control it is still under consideration by my Government. The Local Governments have given us their views on the various suggestions put forward to meet this crying evil, and I hope to be in a position shortly to announce the conclusions eventually reached.

Those of you who were Members of the last Council will be interested to hear the action taken since it broke up, on resolutions brought before it. We have consulted Local

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Governments and Administrations on the subject-matter of the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoi's resolution for the amelioration of the depressed classes of this country. We have commended to the notice of the same authorities Dr. M. N. Bannerji's resolution suggesting the advisability of establishing institutions for the purpose of giving medical students a special course of training in the vernacular so as to qualify them for ordinary medical practice in rural areas, and in accordance with the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan, we are investigating in consultation with Local Governments the possibility of placing the ancient and indigenous systems of medicines on a scientific basis and of adding to their usefulness. In the latter connection you will be interested to know that a site has been granted on favourable terms to the Anjuman-i-Tibia for the construction of the Unani-Tibia College at Delhi.

Lastly as a result of the discussion in this Council at its last session we are arranging for experiments in the improvement of vital statistics and for the investigation of malaria problems in Bengal. I have corresponded with the Governor of Bengal on this latter question and the Hon'ble Member in the Department discussed it with Lord Carmichael when he was in Dacca the other day. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this question and I hope that we shall be able in due course to formulate measures to deal with it as a result of these experiments.

The decision to appoint a Commission to examine the question of the expansion and development of Indian manufactures and industries was announced by Sir William Clark when speaking on Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Resolution in this Council on 21st March last. Since that date the

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Commission has been formally constituted under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holland, and it will assemble in full strength next month. Sir Thomas Holland, who arrived in May last, has in the meantime been conducting the necessary preliminary enquiries, and he is at present touring in the different provinces to prepare the ground for the investigations of the Commission. The Government of India have every hope that the work of the Commission, which is a very strong one, will result in the stimulation of existing industries, the foundation of others, and the increase of the material prosperity of the people of India.

The Government of India are giving their very careful consideration to the question of trade after the war. They are examining in detail such heads of the export trade as were before the war wholly or mainly controlled or directed by enemy interests, and are also paying attention to certain other items which might possibly become so in future. For imports and exports alike they are collecting the information necessary for the full and proper presentment of the case for India which will at no distant date have to be laid before the Imperial Conference on trade after the war, and at this Conference we have the Prime Minister's and the Secretary of State's assurance that India will be represented and taken into consultation with all the other parts of the British Empire.

One of the most important questions which is now occupying the attention of my Government and of Provincial Governments, whom we have addressed on the subject, is that of a scheme to be substituted for indentured emigration as it is sometimes described. This is perhaps hardly a correct way of putting it, as it implies that we are trying to

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work out a scheme for the purpose of supplying labour to the Colonies, whereas the scheme we are contemplating relates to a very different matter, *viz.*, the control of the operations of persons so engaged. Labourers have a right to emigrate if they wish, and it would be very unwise and very undesirable on our part to prevent them, and we are, therefore, trying to devise arrangements which will secure that recruitment in this country is conducted under decent conditions, that a proper sex ratio will be maintained, and that, on arrival in the country of their destination, they will be properly treated and allowed to engage themselves on terms at least as free as those obtaining at present in the Malay Peninsula, where a labourer can leave his employer by giving a month's notice. These are the conditions which, in our letter to Local Governments, we explained are regarded by the Government of India as necessary for a satisfactory system of emigration. I think it will be clear to all who have studied the question that the Government of India would be departing gravely from its duty if it allowed emigrant labour to leave this country without proper protection and safeguards. There are a certain number of labourers, I believe a very small number, who emigrate as genuine free labourers, that is to say, unassisted by pecuniary help and uninvited by any interested agency. But if we confine ourselves to the abolition of our existing indentured emigration, a position will arise in which the parties interested in procuring Indian labour will be free to induce labour to emigrate by pecuniary help under any conditions they like, so long as the labourer does not go under indenture. The abuses likely to arise out of such a state of things would be very serious. I need only refer to the state of affairs which existed before the amendment of the Assam Labour and Emigration Act in connection with so-called

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“free labour ;” the consequence of this system was, as Sir Charles Rivaz put it in his speech before the Legislative Council in 1901, that “a horde of unlicensed and uncontrolled labour-purveyors and recruiters sprang into existence who, under the guise of assisting free emigration, made large illicit gains by inducing under false pretences ignorant men and women to allow themselves to be conveyed to Assam.” These emigrants were, it is true, placed under labour contracts on arriving in that province, but the abuses complained of arose in connection with the recruitment, and not with the contract. Similarly, when the system of indentured emigration first arose in India, the only precaution required was that intending emigrants should appear before a magistrate and satisfy him as to their freedom of choice and their knowledge of the conditions they were accepting. It was shown in a report submitted in 1840 that abuses undoubtedly did exist in connection with recruitment in India, abuses which the constantly increased safeguard provided by successive acts of the legislature were designed to correct. Uncontrolled recruitment cannot, it is clear, be permitted under any circumstances. Lord Hardinge promised—and I associate myself with him—to deal with certain points raised by my Hon’ble friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, during the last session of the Legislative Council. These points were the better supervision of Colonial recruiting in India, the insertion of information regarding the penal conditions attaching to labour contracts in the indenture signed by intending emigrants, and the undesirability of labourers in the Colonies being compelled to do work repellent to their caste, ideas and religious beliefs. Regarding the first matter, we have already consulted Local Governments very fully when asking their views as to the precautions which will be required after the abolition of

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indentured emigration. As to the second point, you are no doubt aware that Fiji has now abolished imprisonment for labour offences, and other Colonies are arranging to follow suit. But there will still be certain provisions remaining which we think should be brought to the notice of intending emigrants and we have arranged to do this as soon as the various Colonial Legislatures concerned have passed the amendments to which I have alluded. We have also asked the Secretary of State to press the third point on the attention of the Colonial Governments concerned. I should like to say just one more word about the reference we are making to Local Governments. The conditions under which we are to allow labour to be recruited in India and under which it should be employed in the Colonies are peculiarly matters on which Indian public opinion has every right to be heard and on which we desire its full expression as an aid to us in formulating our proposals. We have, therefore, asked the Local Governments to consult private persons and associations who are specially interested in, or have special knowledge of, this important question, and we hope that the case, which we shall be able to put forward for the discussion which will shortly take place on this subject in London, will represent not only the result of our own experience and judgment, but the views of the most intelligent sections of the Indian community.

As was indicated in Sir William Meyer's speech (paragraph 88) introducing the last Financial Statement, the Government of India have for some time past had in view a clearer definition, and an enlargement, of the financial powers of the Local Governments and of authorities subordinate to these. There was general agreement as to the

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desirability of an advance in this direction, but considerable difficulty was found in determining the manner in which the general principle of decentralisation should be applied. The practical impossibility of defining the powers of every authority in India and of compiling an exhaustive statement of such powers will be readily appreciated. On the other hand, the Secretary of State was unwilling to concede to us any general powers of delegation and re-delegation. I am glad, however, to say that we have made substantial progress. In the case of Provincial Governments the Secretary of State has assented to the principle that their financial powers of sanction and control of provincial expenditure can properly be placed in a position of substantial equality with the powers of the Government of India in respect of Imperial expenditure. The extended powers with which Local Governments have been invested in pursuance of this policy have been defined in a resolution recently issued. We hope that, as a result, there will be a considerable diminution in the occasions on which it will be necessary for Local Governments to refer to the Government of India in regard to matters that may with advantage be settled locally.

In the case of the further delegation of powers to other authorities subordinate to the Government of India as well as to Local Governments, no such simple solution offered itself, but we have obtained the Secretary of State's general approval to the following arrangement. Broad fundamental rules will be laid down specifying for each class of authority the limits within which powers may be delegated to them. The precise degree of delegation will then be settled, by the Government of India for Imperial Departments and by the Local Governments for Provincial, on the merits of each case.

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It will, for example, be optional for a Local Government in any particular case to delegate or not to delegate, and if it does delegate a given power, it can impose such conditions as it may consider necessary. The detailed rules to give effect to these arrangements are now before the Secretary of State and we hope that they will soon be sanctioned.

I ought perhaps to refer to the legislation which has been undertaken in Parliament to amend the provisions of the recent Government of India Act. With regard to one of the clauses of the Bill that was introduced for the purpose, some feeling has been evoked in this country ; but as I have no desire to enter into the controversial aspect of the case, I will content myself with saying that the clause has now been definitely held over for further consideration after the war.

The need for economy and the shortage of officers owing to the war have necessarily restricted the activities of those departments of Government to which we look for material progress. You will, however, I think agree with me that the thanks of the whole community are due in these days to the Agents of our railways for their energy and resource in coping with the very difficult task that has been set them. An increase of traffic has taken place due in the main to the diversion to railways of the whole of the coal-traffic between Bengal and the Western ports through the shortage of sea freight. In normal times many additional facilities could have been provided rapidly to deal with the new situation. In present circumstances not only have our activities been restricted by financial considerations, but owing to the war difficulties in obtaining materials have been well-nigh insuperable. Thus additions to rolling-stock have been out of the question, and we have had much to do even to keep existing

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stock in good order. Again the attention of railway administrations has not been devoted solely to railway work. Besides the manufacture of shell, a great deal of military work of a miscellaneous character has devolved upon the railways. The staff, too, has been depleted by the war, the railways having given up 350 officers and 1,500 subordinates for military duty or employment on railway work overseas under military control. Notwithstanding these manifold difficulties, there has been no serious breakdown of internal or external trade. This has been due chiefly to the whole-hearted endeavour of each railway administration to co-operate with others for the public good, and to the valuable assistance which has been given to railways by the commercial public.

We are not unmindful of the future. The danger is still with us. We have taken counsel with the representatives of trade interests, and a Conference was convened in July under the presidency of the Hon'ble Member in the Railway Department to discuss the whole situation and make sure that no method of alleviating congestion was overlooked. Still the prospects at present are not altogether favourable. The outstanding need is that advantage should be taken of the slack season to increase stocks of coal throughout the country. But the difficulty unfortunately arises that conditions in the coal-fields preclude large raisings at this time of the year, owing to harvest operations, and this may interfere with the building up of stocks. We are all alive, however, to the needs of the situation. The raisings of coal will no doubt presently increase; before the pressure comes on us again, the capacity of our lines will have improved, and it is not unreasonable to hope that, with the hearty co-operation between railways and the commercial public, evidence of

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which was a pleasing feature at the Conference I have mentioned, we shall be able to deal with the traffic during next cold weather.

The activities of the departments administered by the Department of Revenue and Agriculture have also been restricted both by the need for economy and by the shortage of officers. Not only have the services of a considerable number of officers been placed at the disposal of the military authorities, but it is at present difficult to obtain suitable recruits, especially for the Forest and Agricultural Departments. We have lately, however, been able to secure the services of two experts from home to conduct special investigations. One of these is studying the problem of reviving the trade in natural indigo. If he can devise a means of standardising the natural product in a form which will enable it to compete with the German synthetic dye, it is to be hoped that the planters will adopt some co-operative system of manufacture and marketing, and thus place this once profitable industry on a sound basis for the future.

A tannin expert has also recently arrived with a small extract plant, and is engaged on an investigation of the tanning materials yielded by various forests in India with a view to preparing tannin extracts for trial on a commercial basis. If his researches are successful, not only will the Forest Department obtain a new source of income, but the tannin industry may be expected to develop on a large scale, and to produce good leather from the enormous quantities of hides which are at present exported from India in a raw condition.

Mr. Lefroy's enquiries into the silk industry were interrupted by a visit to Mesopotamia, where he did valuable work in organising measures for the destruction of flies and vermin,

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but he has now returned and resumed his investigations. It is hoped that they will result in a considerable revival of this historic industry. Without forestalling his report, I think I may say that he will show that large parts of the country, especially the sub-montane tracts, are suitable for the production of the silkworm, which cannot thrive in the arid heat of the plains. It is equally important to know the areas which are unsuitable, so that efforts to develop the industry may be concentrated in those tracts which offer the best prospect of success.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hill explained at the discussion of the Financial Statement last March that the present period of comparative inactivity is being utilised for the preparation of schemes, especially in connection with agriculture, for development when more favourable conditions recur. It is my hope that those schemes will bear bountiful fruit during my term of office. The success of the researches at Pusa in selecting improved varieties of various crops, especially of wheat, has demonstrated the possibility of getting a vastly increased yield from indigenous species. There is room for many more workers in this field, and in course of time every large province should have a competent staff to work out local problems. There is equal room for expansion in the work of demonstrating the results of these researches. The Indian cultivator has shown himself quite ready to adopt improved methods as soon as he is convinced of their utility ; and I look forward to a time when demonstration farms will be spread all over the country, bringing the practical results of scientific research within the reach of the agricultural masses.

The improvement of agriculture, besides bringing prosperity and content to the majority of the population of India,

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will provide a worthy career for the young educated Indian who desires to serve his country, but does not always find the best way of doing it. The recommendations of the Conference on Agricultural Education, over which the Hon'ble Mr. Hill presided last February, have been considered by Government and have recently been referred for the opinions of Local Governments. The Conference dealt, among other matters, with the question of reforming the system of education in our agricultural colleges. One of the chief needs of those colleges is to attract suitable students. The development of agricultural farms should tend to effect this object, but more farms can only be opened as men become available to manage them, and agricultural education and development are thus inter-dependent. I should like, from my personal experience in Australia, to lay stress on this. Agricultural colleges and demonstration farms have played a great part in the development of the agricultural industry in that country; and though the farming community is notoriously conservative, it has through these means been awakened to the possibilities opened out by science. I should like to impress this further fact on Indian parents. When they are planning the future of their sons, they might well pause to consider whether, instead of sending them to join the over-stocked market of the legal and literary professions, it would not be better to turn their attention to the possibilities of employment in scientific agriculture. As the department expands, it will afford greater opportunities of advancement, and the man who elects for this service may do well for himself and at the same time contribute to the prosperity of his country.

I think it will interest the Council to hear that we have under consideration at present the question whether it is not

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possible and desirable, with due regard to economy and efficiency, to make certain radical alterations in the organisation of our Public Works Department on the Roads and Buildings side. As the Council is aware, the great bulk of the construction and repair work of public buildings of all classes, however unimportant, is at present done through the official agency of the Public Works Department. It seems to us not unreasonable to suppose that a good deal of the work of this character could be devolved upon an agency, other than the Government Public Works agency, under the control of local bodies; while, side by side with delegation to local agency, a stimulus might be given to private enterprise on a larger scale in connection with contracts for works. If this be found feasible, it will, of course, follow that the Buildings and Roads Branch of our Public Works Department will eventually be susceptible of considerable reduction in establishment, since its functions, apart from the larger public buildings, will be in the main inspectorial. It is not merely on the score of economy that this change is under consideration. We feel that there is scope for very considerable improvement in our Engineering Colleges; and that if highly competent engineers were turned out by these institutions, there is no inherent reason why the graduates of those Colleges should not be able to enter upon private practice, either as architects or civil engineers, thus gradually building up—what at present is almost absent from India—a body of qualified engineering experts whose knowledge would be available on a much larger scale for private contracting firms. It will be realised that this question is one of great intricacy and importance and requires very careful examination. I do not, therefore, propose to discuss the matter now in greater detail. Indeed, at the present moment it would be undesirable, as we have

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proposed for the Secretary of State's approval that the whole question be examined by a Committee specially appointed for the purpose who will investigate conditions throughout India and report to us upon the possibilities of change in the directions I have indicated. Here, again, I would suggest the possibility of outlets for the youth of India other than those found in the legal and literary professions.

In the sphere of education the influence of the war has been very apparent. The Provincial Governments have, as the Council is aware, been forced by the financial situation to restrict their educational programmes, and the Government of India have for the same reason been unable to assist them with increased grants. We have, however, brought under their consideration three classes of educational effort in which some progress may suitably be made when better times recur. We have, in the first place, consulted Local Governments and the public on the lines which should be followed in the important matter of the development of female education, especially in its primary phases—one of the most important and most difficult of the problems which have to be faced in the near future and one which I could wish that we were better prepared to meet. We have also drawn attention to the claims on Government assistance possessed by institutions for the instruction of the blind and the deaf and dumb. And lastly we have placed before the Provincial Governments the necessity of maintaining more systematic arrangements than at present for securing an adequate supply of properly-trained teachers—perhaps the most vital requirement in our educational system to-day. Since we last met, moreover, two new Universities have come into existence, one at Benares and one at Mysore, and much consideration has

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been given to the pending proposals for the institution of new Universities at certain other centres. The rules for the grant of scholarships in England have at the same time been consolidated and improved, and we have had correspondence with the Secretary of State on certain aspects of the complaints which have from time to time been made regarding the facilities for Indian students in England. I was glad in connection with this question to be able lately to announce the constitution of a special Delegation at Oxford and an inter-collegiate Committee at Cambridge for the express purpose of meeting the needs of Indian students, whose numbers at these two Universities are said to have trebled in the last ten years.

In matters connected with local self-government I may note that, in view of the position assumed of recent years by aliens in certain of our towns, we have found it necessary to ask Local Governments to ensure that in future aliens shall have no right to vote for election to, or to sit upon, municipal or district councils in this country. In several provinces there are measures of importance relating to municipalities and district boards which have been for some time under discussion. To one of these—the United Provinces Municipal Act—I have recently given my assent, and this measure—quite apart from the special provisions regarding communal representation which have attracted so much public attention—may be said to mark a very real and important step in the direction of self-government in local affairs.

Turning to foreign affairs I am happy to be able to state that the relations between His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan and the Government of India continue to be of the most cordial and friendly character. His Majesty, I need hardly

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tell you, is scrupulously observing the neutral attitude which he guaranteed at the beginning of the war and has since reaffirmed.

On the North-West Frontier the tranquillity to which my predecessor alluded in his last speech in this Council has happily been maintained. This almost unprecedented calm on this usually restless border is due partly to the attitude of His Majesty the Amir, partly to the punishment inflicted last year on the few aggressive sections, but chiefly to the innate good sense and loyalty of the tribes as a whole, who have now realised that this war involves no menace to their religion, as they were at first falsely led to believe by enemy agents and interested schemers. Not that our enemies have entirely abandoned their campaign of religious misrepresentation, but I have every confidence that false promises of these mischief-makers will now fall on deaf ears, and that our tribesmen will not again be tempted to turn in mistrust against a Government whose unswerving policy has been to respect and safeguard the religion of its peoples and uphold the standard of religious freedom.

The relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Persia have never been more harmonious. In realisation of the unity of purpose which animates both, the Persian Government have invited and welcomed our assistance in the raising and training of a Persian force to purge the south of the last traces of German intrigue and to police the main trade routes leading to the sea. And with this assistance, which we on our part were glad to be able to afford them, the Persian Government, I am confidently assured, will shortly be enabled to bring back the blessings of order and prosperity to the southern provinces, and thereby to draw still closer those

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bonds of commerce which from time immemorial have knit India and Persia together.

I now turn to consider the situation in this country. In spite of the machinations and intrigues of our enemies, India's loyalty remains as steadfast as in 1914, when the outbreak of hostilities led to that conspicuous and ever-memorable wave of enthusiasm for the cause of the Empire and its Allies, which swept from one end of the country to the other.

In Bengal where political dacoities and dastardly murders of Indian police officers still continue, the position has given, and is giving, us all cause for anxious thought. We are, in consultation with the Local Government, closely considering the situation, and in particular we are endeavouring to elucidate the causes of this sinister development in what was at one time a most peaceful province. As a measure of immediate and practical relief, we have taken important steps to strengthen and protect the police force which is engaged in maintaining law and order, but we are not unmindful of the necessity for finding remedies which will go to the root-cause of the evil.

I do not intend to enter into further details to-day, and will leave the subject with the remark that I feel sure that you will all agree that it is impossible for Government to tolerate the indefinite continuance of dangerous activities which strike at the foundations of all constituted authority.

It is in pleasant contrast that I turn to the situation in the Punjab, where a peace, which was momentarily disturbed by a handful of returned emigrants who found themselves after their absence entirely out of sympathy with their own countrymen, has been satisfactorily restored. While speaking on the

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subject of the Punjab, I would like to say with what gratification I received—as I am sure its officers and people did—the sanction of the Secretary of State to the creation of a High Court at Lahore as soon as the termination of the present war makes this possible.

The last subject with which I shall deal to-day is the war. You must all of you be conscious that since the last Session of this Council a great change has come over the military situation in the main theatres of conflict. The chief features of that change I shall presently attempt to describe. But first I wish to deal with events in a minor theatre of war—Mesopotamia—in which India is very closely interested and where, owing to difficulties of country and climate, our forces have been subject to great hardships.

The gallant garrison of Kut, reduced to the last extremity, had perforce to surrender before relief could be afforded, but the stubborn resistance offered under adverse circumstances, and the fine spirit displayed by both the Commander and his men—British and Indian—will ever be memorable. During the hot weather months active operations in Mesopotamia have not been undertaken, but our occupation of enemy territory has been further consolidated and experience gained which will assist our Commanders when the campaign again develops.

Hon'ble Members will doubtless have noted that the conduct of the campaign in Mesopotamia has lately been the subject of criticisms in Parliament and the press, and that the Government of India and its Army Department have been blamed for certain failures in administration which are alleged to have occurred in that country. As the whole question is about to be investigated by a Royal Commission,

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the present time is not opportune for a discussion of the case. I would however suggest that there is another side to the picture. We have in fairness to ourselves the right to ask our critics to survey the situation as a whole and I shall endeavour to place before you in studiously considered outline a summary of what India has done during the past two years.

The winter of 1914-15 was one of the most critical periods of the war, for it was evident that the troops then available on the continent and in the United Kingdom were inadequate for the defensive rôle allotted to them, and that the only way, pending the raising and training of the new armies, in which the position could be saved, was by replacing the regulars serving in the Mediterranean and colonial garrisons with territorials and by drawing upon India for troops to the fullest possible extent. The demands then made on us were honoured in full and with the utmost promptitude. Two cavalry and two infantry divisions, completely equipped in every respect, with staffs, guns, horses, transport, ambulances and all requisite auxiliary services, were despatched to France. Of the endurance and gallantry displayed by the Indian Corps while serving in the trenches during the trying winter of 1914-15 and again in the severe fighting that took place in the following spring, I need hardly speak, for its details are known to you all. Despite a wastage in *personnel* of over 150 % per annum, and a considerable loss in animals, the Indian Corps were always kept up to strength and liberally provided with clothing, munitions and equipment from India.

At the same time as the despatch of troops to France, nearly the equivalent of a division was sent to East Africa, while one cavalry and six infantry brigades were despatched to Egypt. Very soon after, a division, complete in every

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respect, was sent to Mesopotamia, where it has since been largely reinforced, while smaller forces were employed at Maskat, in the Persian Gulf and at Aden. All these forces were based on India, which provided the drafts of men and animals, and the food, forage and material required for their maintenance.

Besides the heavy burden of having to meet the needs of four expeditionary forces at the same time, India had to maintain the troops on her frontiers and conduct operations which attracted little attention at the time, but which were nevertheless on a considerable scale.

The Army in India has thus proved a great Imperial asset and in weighing the value of India's contribution to the war, it should be remembered that India's forces were no hasty improvisation, but were an army in being, fully equipped and supplied, which had previously cost India annually a large sum to maintain.

I wish that time would permit of my giving you an account in greater detail of the assistance in men and material which India has furnished and is furnishing to the cause of the Empire. It would show the strain that is still imposed upon us by the maintenance of these large forces overseas. It would not however be justifiable at this stage of my speech to inflict on you a full recital of these facts and figures. Still I cannot refrain from mentioning a few salient points.

On the outbreak of war, of the 4,598 British officers on the Indian establishment, 530, who were at home on leave, were detained by the War Office for service in Europe. Two thousand six hundred combatant officers have been withdrawn from India since the beginning of the war, excluding those who

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proceeded on service with their batteries or regiments. In order to make good these deficiencies and provide for war wastage, the Indian Army Reserve of Officers was expanded from a total of 40, at which it stood on the 1st August 1914, to one of 2,000.

The establishments of Indian units have not only been kept up to strength, but have been considerably increased. There has been an augmentation of 20% in the cavalry and of 40 % in the infantry, while the number of recruits enlisted since the beginning of the war is greater than the entire strength of the Indian Army as it existed on the 1st August 1914. These remarkable results may be attributed to the confidence inspired by the British officers of the Indian Army, the cordial co-operation of the civil authorities, and the loyal response of the people of India.

Recruiting has been opened to several classes to whom military service was previously closed. Considerable public interest has been aroused by the sanction given for the formation of a Bengali double company which will be trained on the frontier and sent on active service. The Bengal Stationary Hospital, recently broken up, rendered admirable service in Mesopotamia, and its record there was one of which the promoters of the scheme may well be proud.

The despatch of so many expeditionary forces from India has necessitated a great expansion in military transport. Four Camel Transport Corps and twenty-seven Mule Corps have been despatched on service, representing a total of over 13,000 men and 17,000 animals. To replace these units and provide for wastage, some sixteen new Transport Corps and cadres have been formed.

Six labour corps have been sent to the front and some 1,500 overseers, draftsmen, clerks, store-keepers, carpenters,

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smiths, mechanics, etc., have been despatched to Mesopotamia for duty on military works, and India has supplied large stocks of military material.

In respect of medical *personnel* and equipment — and this is a matter in regard to which the Government of India have come in for special criticism — India's contributions towards oversea expeditions have been on a very big scale. Forty field ambulances, 6 clearing hospitals, 35 stationary hospitals, 18 general hospitals, 9 X-ray sections, 8 sanitary sections, 7 advanced dépôts and 1 general medical store dépôt are now serving overseas. The *personnel* provided for these units and other services amounts to 258 officers of the R. A. M. C., 704 I. M. S. officers, 40 lady nurses, 475 assistant surgeons, 854 sub-assistant surgeons, 724 British nursing orderlies, 2,843 Indian ranks and nearly 20,000 Indian followers. In order to meet the heavy demands on the Indian Medical Service, 344 officers have been withdrawn from civil employment, and some 200 private practitioners and civil assistant surgeons have been given temporary commissions. In the subordinate branches, 205 assistant surgeons and 561 sub-assistant surgeons in various kinds of civil employment have been released for military duty. The strain which has been caused to the Civil Medical Department by these changes and withdrawals has been very great. In the medical sphere, in fact, it must be patent to all that in responding to the demands made upon us we have gone as far as it was possible to go.

The efficient working of the Indian Ordnance Department is shown in the enormous increase in the output from our factories and arsenals since the outbreak of war. To name one item only, I note that we have supplied the War Office

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with stores to the value of 2 million sterling, including some 265,000 high explosive empty shell manufactured by the Munitions Branch. The Indian Ordnance was only organised to supply the requirements of military operations on the North-West Frontier, and it is, therefore, no small tribute to its power of expansion that it has been able to deal so successfully with such vastly increased demands.

The work of the Royal Indian Marine in connection with the war has been of great importance. One hundred and seventy-one vessels have been chartered and fitted up as transports and since the beginning of the war the sailings of transports from Bombay alone had, up to the end of July, numbered 926, and the arrivals 1,044. These figures give some idea of the shipping and transport work which has to be dealt with by the Marine and Embarkation staffs at Bombay. Moreover 78 steamers, 120 launches and 207 lighters and barges have been purchased and prepared for service in Mesopotamia. One hundred and ninety-two officers and 7,000 Indian seamen and stokers are now serving in the Government flotilla on the rivers of Mesopotamia. Work has been carried on under high pressure in the Royal Indian Marine dockyards at Bombay and Kidderpore, and several dockyards and repair shops for river craft have been established in Mesopotamia.

The Railway Board, besides controlling the manufacture of munitions outside Ordnance factories, has provided the material and *personnel* required for the construction and working of military railways in East Africa, Mesopotamia and at Aden.

In addition to all the material, rolling-stock and engines required for these railways, the Board has equipped and staffed a number of workshops overseas, and constructed on behalf

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of the military authorities various descriptions of vehicles, and equipment, such as armoured motor cars, motor lorry bodies, water tanks, as also eleven complete armoured trains, and seven hospital trains.

Hon'ble Members will I think agree that the account of what India has contributed towards the war is a record of loyal achievement of which, as the Secretary of State recently stated in Parliament, she may indeed be proud.

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have continued to give invaluable assistance towards the prosecution of the war and the relief of sick and wounded soldiers. Among recent contributions have been the Rajputana gift of over 4½ lakhs for aircraft, machine guns and motor ambulances, the gift of Rs. 45,000 by His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa and the Solanki Rajput Chiefs for the purchase of aeroplanes; the gift of 1 lakh of rupees by His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, and of 2½ lakhs by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner from his privy purse. Hospital accommodation has been provided or offered by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Bikaner, Datia, Benares, Jind and Kapurthala, the Maharao of Sirohi, the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Raja of Suket, and substantial contributions have been received from the Rulers of Cutch, Limbdi, Dasada, Sonpur, Bahawalpur, Faridkot, Manipur, Dhar, Jaora, Barwani, Ali Rajpur, Raghugarh and Shahpura.

The Imperial Service Troops are still doing very valuable work on the various fronts, notably the Mysore Lancers and the Bikaner Camel Corps in Egypt, the Kashmir Rifles, Jind Infantry and Faridkot Sappers in East Africa, and the Maler Kotla Sappers in Mesopotamia, and I am glad to hear that the Kashmir and Jind Durbars have recently received a special

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message of congratulation from General Smuts on the efficiency of their troops. The Sirmur Sappers had the distinction of assisting in the gallant defence of Kut.

The veteran warrior, His Highness Sir Pratap Singh, after a brief visit to India, has returned to France, where, with His Highness the Raja of Rutlam, he continues to uphold the name of the Rajputs for patriotism and valour.

To all these and to those other Rulers whose princely gifts and loyal services have been acknowledged on previous occasions, I should like to offer, on behalf of myself and my colleagues in this Council, our warmest and most sincere thanks.

And now in conclusion, I will briefly pass in review the present military aspects of the great battle fronts where not only the destiny of the belligerent nations but the future course of civilisation is being decided.

During the interval that has elapsed since the closing of our session in March last, the great war has raged with increased intensity in all its main theatres. The outstanding feature of this period is the fact that the initiative has been wrested from our enemies and that the improved position of Great Britain and her Allies in the matter of men and munitions has enabled a general and forcible offensive to be undertaken.

The prodigious efforts and enormous sacrifices made by the Germans against Verdun have so far proved abortive, and the valiant French army has not only more than held its own, but has achieved conspicuous success in the recent stirring operations on the Somme. Our own successes in this latter area, which had been prepared and strengthened by the enemy

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for some two years by every modern device, are very significant and bear testimony to the completeness of our preparations and technical equipment and to the fine spirit and bravery of the troops.

In the Eastern theatre, the Russians commenced their great offensive movement early in June, and the subsequent operations have proceeded with almost uninterrupted success on a wide front, resulting in the recovery of much lost ground, the re-occupation of a large tract of enemy country and the capture of some 300,000 Austrian and German prisoners and vast quantities of war material.

In the Southern theatre, the Austrian offensive initiated in the spring was quickly checked and our Italian Ally seizing her opportunity assumed a vigorous offensive on both the Trentino and Isonzo fronts, and is now in occupation of important strategical points in the enemy's country.

In the Balkans, developments have been slow, as the allied forces entrenched before Salonika were obviously awaiting the psychological moment. With the adherence of Roumania to our cause I think we may say that that moment has now arrived. The action of Roumania at this juncture has a peculiar significance which Hon'ble Members must have correctly appreciated without needing elaboration from me.

In Asia Minor, our Russian Ally is making steady progress notwithstanding the great physical difficulties of the country and is now in occupation of the greater part of Armenia.

At the beginning of last month a signal success was gained by our forces in Egypt, resulting in the complete defeat and dispersion of the enemy.

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In German East Africa, our troops are gradually overcoming all the great physical difficulties and driving the enemy before them. The successful issue of these operations can scarcely be much longer delayed, and the loss of this Protectorate, her last remaining colonial possession, will be a staggering blow to the pride and prestige of Germany.

Our Navy still exercises command of the sea. The one serious attempt made by the enemy to challenge our supremacy ended in failure and flight. Losses on both sides were considerable, but the fact remains that the German fleet was driven from the seas and that the grip of our blockade is firmer than ever.

I cannot let this occasion pass without alluding to the irreparable loss which our Empire has suffered in the untimely death of Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, seven years of whose valuable and strenuous life were spent in the service of this country. He lived to see the great work he had accomplished in connection with the war producing the results for which he had striven and in the day of victory the great part he played will not be forgotten.

Against a loss such as we have suffered by his death, against checks, disappointments and delays inevitable in a war waged on so vast a scale, we must continue steadfastly to steel our hearts, relying on the justice of the cause for which we fight, firmly trusting that the grievous sacrifices required of us will not have been offered up in vain, and confident that the tide of battle, now at last setting strongly against our enemies, will finally sweep away all political ideals which are based on militarism and aggression and leave peace once more firmly established among the nations of the earth.

CHIEFS CONFERENCE AT DELHI.

[The Conference of Indian Princes and Chiefs which opened on the 30th morning of the 30th October in the Imperial Council Chamber was attended by over forty Princes and Chiefs, among whom were—

Their Highnesses the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Maharaj-Kunwar of Sirhoi.

Madras Presidency.—His Highness the Raja of Cochin.

Bombay Presidency.—Their Highnesses the Pant Sachiv of Bhor, the Rao of Cutch, the Thakur Sahib of Gondal, the Maharaja of Idar, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, the Thakur Sahib of Morvi, the Jam of Navanagar and the Nawab of Palanpur.

Bengal Presidency.—His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

United Provinces.—His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

Punjab.—Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Nabha, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, the Raja of Sirmur, and the Nawab of Maler Kotla.

Central India.—Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Datia, the Raja of Dewas (Senior branch), the Raja of Dhar, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Raja of Jabua, the Raja of Rajgarh, the Maharaja of Rewa, and the Raja of Sailana.

Rajputana.—Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Alwar, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, the Maharaja of Jaisalmer, the Raja of Jhalawar, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaja of Kishangarh and the Maharaja of Kotah.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Conference said :—]

I welcome Your Highnesses very heartily to this Chamber, which is to be the scene of your deliberations for the next few days. Princes and Chiefs have gathered at Delhi many a time in pomp and circumstance to celebrate some splendid moment in the history of the Empire, but it is only of late years that Delhi has witnessed such an assemblage as this of Rulers from all parts of India, met without formality or ceremonial to deliberate upon matters affecting the interests

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of their order and to assist the Government of India in the solution of important problems of administration.

I am aware that to many of Your Highnesses the moment which we have been compelled to choose for holding this Conference is not entirely suitable, that your presence here to-day has involved the laying aside of pressing duties and that, apart from the inconvenience of the long train journey to Delhi, your residence in such cramped quarters as are available here is attended with much discomfort. All this involves considerable self-denial, but I am convinced that you have rightly counted the cost and I look forward to the time when Your Highnesses will be received on future visits with the ceremonial befitting the occasion; while in the mansions which many of Your Highnesses are proposing to build upon the plains of new Delhi, and in the Guest House which we are planning, you will find accommodation suitable to your dignity.

The great war in which the Empire is engaged is still proceeding, and though the ultimate issue is certain, there is still much to be done before a settlement can be secured which will meet the just demands of Great Britain and her Allies and ensure for the world a firm and lasting peace. In this war Your Highnesses have stood forth as true "pillars of the Empire" and both by personal service in the field and lavish contributions in men, money and material have earned for yourselves a place in the hearts of the British people which will remain for all time. I am glad to say that the value of the work rendered in the field by the Imperial Service Troops has been recognised by the declaration, recently communicated to me, of their eligibility for the Victoria Cross. I know that I may count on you not to relax your efforts

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until the struggle is ended and final victory is won. But even in the midst of this great upheaval of nations and with the din of battle still ringing in our ears, the ordinary business of life cannot be entirely left undone. While, therefore, our main aim must still be to put forth our whole strength in supporting our brave armies in the field, Your Highnesses may well turn aside for a moment to discuss your own affairs and to seek every means for adding to the well-being of your States and of your people.

Before, however, I embark on an explanation of the agenda to be placed before Your Highnesses, I think it may be convenient for me to define more precisely the scope of this Conference and its meaning. His Highness of Gwalior, in replying to Lord Hardinge's opening address in 1913, spoke of an identity of interest between the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the Government of His Imperial Majesty and expressed a hope that such Conferences as that on the question of the Higher College might be frequently repeated. The Maharaja of Bikaner, on a similar occasion in 1914, spoke in plainer terms of the organic connection between the Ruling Princes and the Government of India which partnership involves. His Highness prognosticated that the deliberations of the Conference would not only be of great advantage to yourselves, your States and your people, but also of value to the Imperial Government. Finally, His Highness suggested that the Conference should be convened at stated intervals, and that its business should be placed on a regular and proper basis. Lord Hardinge, in reply, assured the Conference that the ideas expressed by the Maharaja of Bikaner had his warm sympathy, and with that assurance I desire to associate myself without reservation.

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With regard to this Conference, then let me say, Your Highnesses have been invited to meet together to-day to advise the Government of India on certain matters concerning yourselves, your States and your people. There have been so many rumours with regard to the scope and meaning of this Conference that I think it well to define them in clear and unmistakable terms. There are questions constantly arising in respect of your States, your people and yourselves on which the Government of India would like your free and frank advice. I have asked you therefore to meet together and give us that advice, and I hope that Your Highnesses will consider it worth your while at the cost of some inconvenience to help us in this way.

As to the meaning of this Conference, if Your Highnesses, after your experience of this meeting, regard it as of value to come together again and discuss such matters as I have indicated, for my part I shall be delighted to renew my invitation. It may be that in time to come, some constitutional assemblage may grow out of these Conferences which may take its place in the Government of this great Empire, but for the moment I would ask you to content yourselves with the prosaic but useful task of advising the Government of India on certain specific matters. I believe I am not far wrong in thinking that this course will commend itself to the majority of Your Highnesses. You are jealous, and rightly jealous, of your position as Ruling Princes and Chiefs owing allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and there is, I hope, no need for me to assure you that I have no desire to impinge on that position or to interfere in your domestic concerns. Conversely Your Highnesses will, I am sure, not be desirous of intervening in the domestic affairs of British India.

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With this agreement in essentials between Your Highnesses and the Government of India, we may, I think, leave the future to decide for itself the question of constitutional developments as it arises.

The existence of harmonious relations between Your Highnesses and the Government of India is a matter of supreme importance and it behoves us to seek every means by which such harmony may be preserved.

With this object in view, then, I have invited you to be present to-day, but I shall be only too glad to receive from Your Highnesses any suggestions which you may offer to make these Conferences both practical and fruitful in good results.

At the two previous Conferences, which were held in 1913 and 1914, Your Highnesses discussed a scheme for founding at Delhi an institution at which the sons of Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Nobles should be enabled to obtain a course of education comparable with, although in some respects different to, that provided at the Universities of this country. The Resolutions which were passed indicated that the majority of opinion was strongly in favour of the undertaking, but a serious difficulty presented itself in regard to the provision of funds for the building and endowment of the College. Subscriptions and donations promised and anticipated represented approximately a capital sum of 28 lakhs, and means had to be devised for the collection of at least 36 lakhs more if the College were to be adequately equipped and maintained. A small Committee was accordingly appointed to consider means by which the field of subscription might be enlarged. Owing to the war, Lord Hardinge reluctantly decided not to call Your Highnesses to Conference last cold weather, and the question has therefore been held temporarily in abeyance.

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The Committee will shortly present to Your Highnesses the result of the enquiries which have been made and it will rest with you to decide what action should be taken on their recommendations.

Apart from the question of the Higher College, there are no less than eight other matters in regard to which I have decided to consult Your Highnesses on this occasion. The second, third, sixth and seventh items on the agenda require but little comment from me, as the points at issue are adequately explained in the Memoranda. I would only say, with regard to the second item, that many of Your Highnesses will have realised, as vividly as we do in British India, the importance of devising some arrangement whereby the assets of insolvents in British India and in your States respectively may be realised and made available for equitable distribution to creditors. The matter is one of considerable difficulty, but I hope that a solution may be found on the line suggested.

Item No. 1 relates to a matter which is, I know, regarded by Your Highnesses as of the highest importance. Every detail of the ceremonial observed on the solemn occasions of the Installation and Investiture of a Ruling Prince has of necessity a special significance, and Durbars are rightly concerned to establish beyond the possibility of doubt the practice and procedure which the traditions of the State demand. Mistakes have been committed in the past and misunderstandings have arisen in consequence of the doubt and uncertainty which have prevailed, but I have every hope that with your assistance we shall be enabled to remove the subject altogether from the field of controversy for the future. Diversity of custom renders it impossible to formulate definite programmes of ceremonial for common observance, nor

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would any good object be served by attempting to do so. The draft Memorandum for the guidance of Political Officers has accordingly been prepared so as to afford full scope to varying custom, special stress being laid upon those features only which appear to the Government of India to mark and symbolise the relations existing between the States and the Paramount Power.

In regard to items 4 and 5 of the agenda, it is known to Your Highnesses that Lord Minto, while Viceroy, took steps to ascertain the opinions of the leading Durbars regarding the principles to be observed during minority administrations. The information then elicited was of great value, but it was necessarily incomplete. Lord Hardinge, in order to elucidate important points which were still in doubt, convened a Committee consisting of Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Begum of Bhopal, the Political Secretary and two other officers of the Political Department. The Committee met at Delhi in February last and, as the result of their recommendations, Lord Hardinge's Government directed the observance of certain principles during minorities in the larger States of Central India and Rajputana. During the Committee's deliberations, however, it appeared that considerable divergence of opinion existed as to the most suitable form of constitution to be adopted during a minority and as to the appropriate methods of educating and training minor Princes and Chiefs. I have, therefore, included these two points in the agenda for the present Conference in the hope that further light may be shed upon them in a more general discussion.

In regard to item No. 8, I am glad to inform you that Sir Thomas Holland has expressed himself as deeply interested

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in the economical and industrial possibilities of your States, and any Durbars that decide to invite the expert assistance of him and his Commission will certainly receive sympathetic and helpful advice. The war is changing the channels in which the commerce of the world has flowed for many years. India must manufacture more in order to supply not only her own markets, but the markets of other countries beyond the seas, and everywhere throughout the Empire it is of paramount urgency that we should replace by production the terrible losses caused by this war. In India labour, skill, materials and capital are available and only knowledge, application and co-ordination are needed to enable rich harvests to be reaped. The more important and most highly-organised industries are naturally located as a rule in the large towns of British India, but several of the greater States have wisely and successfully exploited their mineral resources; have fostered and developed their local industries and have encouraged and financed commercial undertakings. There is no reason why your States should not share in the enterprises that we earnestly hope may be set on foot when the war is over and in the material rewards that may be gained therefrom, and I therefore recommend this eighth item of the agenda to Your Highnesses' very serious consideration.

In conclusion, may I add a personal note to what I have said? Nothing struck me more on my arrival in India than the clear manifestations of the good-will which had existed between my predecessor and many of Your Highnesses during his Viceroyalty. I would wish to maintain and, if possible, improve that tradition of good-will.

Your Highnesses would be the first to acknowledge that the questions of business which have to be transacted between

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yourselves and the Government of India must be carried on through the medium of that distinguished body of men which forms the Political Department of the Government of India, and I feel sure that you would also acknowledge that no body of men had done more faithful service, not only on behalf of their own Government, but in the real interests of Your Highnesses and your States. But rare cases do sometimes arise where there is a difference of opinion, and as to these I should like to inform Your Highnesses that I hold myself bound to investigate personally the issues at stake and endeavour to act as an impartial judge. There are for the most part treaties between the British Crown and your States. These treaties are sacred, and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter, but in the spirit in which they were framed.

With this brief personal reference, which I have allowed myself on this the first occasion of my meeting the majority of Your Highnesses, I invite you to commence your deliberations. I shall await the result with keen interest and am confident that the Government of India will have reason to be grateful for your advice, which will not only redound to the interests of your States, but give one more proof—not that that is necessary—of your abiding loyalty to the King Emperor and his Crown.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, in thanking the Viceroy on behalf of the Princes and Chiefs, said :—

“ *Your Excellency.*—At the request of the Ruling Princes present at this Conference I rise to offer to Your Excellency on our united behalf our grateful thanks for the kind welcome which you have given us, and for the courteous and gratifying terms in which you have alluded to us and to the principles and policy guiding the relations of Your Excellency

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and the Government of India in matters affecting the Ruling Princes and the Indian States. In regard to the generous terms in which Your Excellency has spoken of the share which, we feel proud to think, it has been our privilege to have taken in the great war, we need only say that as in the past so in the future it shall be our effort to do everything that lies in our power for His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the great British Empire with which our destinies are indissolubly linked. The announcement which Your Excellency has just made regarding the eligibility for the Victoria Cross of our troops which we maintain for the defence of the Empire will be hailed with great satisfaction. We are indeed happy to hear all that Your Excellency has said in regard to these Conferences, and specially with reference to Your Excellency's staunch sympathy with our aspirations. As to the future outcome of such assemblies, with the identity of interests which undoubtedly exists between the British Government and the Ruling Princes and the position which we enjoy, it will at all times not only be of advantage to us but also a source of pleasure and satisfaction to be of what assistance we can in the way of advising and perhaps assisting Your Excellency and your Government in important problems concerning the affairs of ourselves, our States and our people. Apart from Imperial conceptions, duties and obligations, it is no less in our own interests that we welcome such conferences and cherish the hope of their future development on constitutional lines, for with the march of the times — and no man can put back the hand of the clock — it is, in our opinion, of the utmost importance to ourselves, our States and our people that we should have a regularly assigned and definite place in the constitution of the Empire, and indeed that there should at an early date come into existence an institution which we have consistently advocated such as a Council or Assembly of Princes formed on proper lines where important questions concerning ourselves can be discussed and settled.

“The great importance which we attach to meetings of this kind is fully demonstrated—if further proofs were needed—by the fact that such a large and representative number of Ruling Princes have assembled here from each and every province in India, including far away Madras and Bengal. We have no desire to encroach upon the

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affairs of British India any more than we want anybody outside our States to interfere with the affairs of our own States and ourselves, and all that we aspire to is that, apart from our having recognised and constitutional means of bringing before the distinguished representative in India of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor questions affecting our States, ourselves and our people, we should also, — representing as we do in area one-third of the Indian Empire and one-fourth of its entire population, — have a voice in the settlement thereof. Your Excellency has yourself been pleased to lay stress on the supreme importance of the existence of harmonious relations between the Government of India and ourselves, and of seeking every means by which to preserve and improve them, and we would venture to express the opinion that nothing will be more productive of such results than the establishment of a Council of Princes which will meet at regular intervals.

“ We do not wish to take up any more time of Your Excellency and of this Conference by lengthening our reply, and therefore it only remains for us to offer our warmest and most grateful thanks to Your Excellency for your emphatic assurances on three important points, *viz.*, your desire to maintain and if possible to improve the very cordial relations which existed between the Ruling Princes and that great Viceroy and statesman Lord Hardinge; of your determination to investigate personally and impartially to judge in cases where differences of opinion may arise; and of your earnest desire to maintain and to treat as sacred the treaties between the British Crown and our States and to interpret them not only in the letter but also in the spirit in which they were framed.

“ In conclusion we feel we cannot allow an unique occasion like the present to pass without once more giving expression to our sense of unflinching loyalty and deep attachment to the person and throne of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, and we beg Your Excellency to convey to His Imperial Majesty the respectful assurances of our readiness to make all possible sacrifices to further the cause of the great Empire to which we have the pride and privilege to belong.”

After the Viceroy had left the Conference proceeded to transact the business of the day.]

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3rd Novem- [At the conclusion of the Conference His Highness the Gaekwar of
ber 1916. Baroda addressed the Viceroy as follows :—

Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled here, I have the honour to lay before Your Excellency a brief account of the proceedings of this Conference during the past five days. Of the Agenda placed before us, we have been compelled to postpone consideration of item No. II, relating to the realisation from insolvent debtors of assets in State territory—this being a complicated question which requires further investigation and expert advice. Consideration of the designs and plans for the Higher Chiefs' College, item No. III. has also been postponed pending further information as to the funds available and the quantity of accommodation required; while as regards item No. VII on the subject of the rules for the payment of compensation for railway lands required in British India, we have decided that the question is one which is more suitable for discussion by letter, and later reference, if necessary, to a future Conference. As regards item No. VIII, we have to acknowledge with gratitude the helpful suggestions made by Sir Thomas Holland as to the means by which the industries of our States may be developed.

On the question of ceremonial to be observed at Installation and Investiture Durbars, we have arrived, after full consideration, at certain conclusions which we desire to place before Your Excellency's Government for favourable consideration.

Similarly the question of the form of administration to be adopted in a State during the minority, and the question of the education and administrative and moral training of minor Princes and Chiefs have been carefully considered by Committees, and resolutions on the subject have been adopted. We have also recorded our opinion on the control and regulation of motor vehicles, and have approved provisionally the report of the Committee appointed to select families in British India from which subscriptions for the Higher Chiefs' College should be invited. The Conference has re-affirmed its previous resolution in favour of the institution of the Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi.

This has been the first meeting of the Conference in its extended form. Composed as it is of Princes and Chiefs who are accustomed

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rather to issue direct commands than to discuss and vote ; and who are, for the most part, strangers to the rules of debate ; we think that its results have been fruitful and profitable.

Your Excellency has held out the hope that in the fulness of time some Constitutional Assemblage may grow out of these Conferences which will take its appropriate place in the government of our mighty Empire. We cherish that hope. We trust that this Conference will, in future, meet annually, for in it we see the commencement of an Institution full of potential good.

The ideal we have before us is a Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined powers ; and that it may be realised speedily ; that it may perhaps be looked on in the future as one of the landmarks of Your Excellency's tenure of office ; our every endeavour must be to secure that future sessions of the Conference may be worked on proper business-like lines.

This, our first experience, has revealed to us the fact that we must eliminate certain defects of procedure which have been obvious, which tend to dissipate our energies, and to sacrifice valuable time. If, for example, the select Committees could be appointed some time before the commencement of the regular session we should be in a position to give to the resolutions the thought they deserve. Some of the over-lapping and conflicting amendments with which we had to deal could find no place in a well-regulated debate. Our work must be co-ordinated, and individual energies and effort economised. A record of proceedings should be prepared and circulated every evening, showing the stage each question has reached, and a daily agenda, preparing us for the day's work well in advance, should be in our hands every morning.

Such a Conference as ours depends for its success on several factors ; not the least of these is the interest shown by all the members in every detail of its proceedings : this has been a particularly pleasing feature of our work of the past few days, and has been evinced by the animated nature of the debate on several items.

We desire to take this opportunity of leaving on record our sense of gratitude to the Political Secretary, Mr. Wood, for his exemplary tact and patience in the conduct of the affairs of the Conference.

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We trust that the recommendations which we place before the Government of India will be accepted.

We would again express to Your Excellency our gratitude for inviting us to the Conference, and so giving us an opportunity of recording our views on important matters affecting the welfare of our States.

Further we desire, with sincere emphasis, that Your Excellency will convey to His Most Gracious Majesty, the King-Emperor, warm assurances of our unswerving loyalty to his august person and to the Throne.

His Excellency in replying to the address spoke as follows:—]

Your Highnesses,—I am glad to receive such a satisfactory account of the work you have been able to accomplish during these past few crowded days and I should like to offer you my felicitations on the work you have accomplished and the spirit in which you have approached it. I need hardly assure you that the Government of India will consider most sympathetically the advice which Your Highnesses are placing before them in the resolutions which you have passed.

I am gratified to think that you regard the meeting of this Conference as having been of value and are desirous that I should invite you to assemble again next year.

I think I can without risk say that I share your opinion as to the value of this Conference and hope to be able next year to invite Your Highnesses once again to help me with your advice. But I would beg you to give time for development and growth, and the motto I would ask you to place before yourselves is *Festina lente*, make haste slowly.

Naturally I should like to see the Conference take a concrete shape during my tenure of office, but the tenure of a Viceroy's office is merely an arbitrary time limit and the

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course of events in history are not determined by limits of man's making.

Be sure that in this matter of the evolution of your Conference as in others the inevitable psychological moment will arrive, but true statesmanship awaits that moment and is careful not to be ahead of it.

For myself it has been a source of intense gratification that I have been able to come into close personal touch with Your Highnesses; that you are no longer merely honoured names to me, but living personalities in whose actions and welfare I can take a lively personal interest.

The personal factor in affairs is one which none of us can afford to disregard. I have now the honour of formally declaring the Conference closed.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF AGRA.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Chelmsford and 4th Novem-
staff, arrived at Agra in the morning of the 4th November and were ber 1916.
received by His Honour Sir J. Meston.

The Municipal Board of Agra presented an address of welcome, which was as follows :—

We, the Municipal Commissioners of Agra, beg to tender to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford our cordial and respectful greetings on the occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to our historic city.

We recall with pride the visit of Their Imperial Majesties in 1911, when they were graciously pleased to accept an address of welcome from us, and again we remember with delight the occasions when we presented addresses of welcome to your distinguished predecessors on similar occasions.

It has been said of Agra as of ancient Rome that all roads lead to it. Its hotels and caravansarais receive travellers from all parts of the

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world, attracted by the artistic and architectural beauties of its ancient monuments, of which we are so justly proud.

The same advantages of position which brought to Agra the cities and palaces of the Mughal capital in 1564 have however failed at the present day to attract the amount of trade which its position demands, and rich though we may be in the past splendour of our city and the relics of its ancient monuments we feel poor when we find that we lag behind other cities less fortunate than ours in meeting the growing needs of a modern city and providing the amenities of modern life, with taxation almost at its limit.

The keen interest taken, the practical insight gained by Your Excellency in the past in the administration of Local Self-Government of London and the interest you have evinced in our city by your taking so early an opportunity to visit it encourage us to hope that the claims of Agra may receive a sympathetic consideration at your hands.

We cherish the hope that with Delhi as Your Excellency's capital Agra may now serve the same purpose as Barrackpore did when the capital was at Calcutta, so that by Your Excellency's short sojourn in our midst every year Agra may with pride raise her head again among her sister cities and regain some of its past eminence.

It has been the endeavour of the Board with whatever resources it has at its disposal to keep the city in a healthy and sanitary condition and to keep pace with its growing requirements.

The equipment of our water-supply system which was first provided in 1891 has proved quite insufficient within recent years. To remove the complaints as to the deficiency in water-supply permanently and to cope with the increased and still increasing demand for water the Board have received generous assistance in the shape of a grant of over six lakhs and sixty thousand rupees from the Government of Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude in this connection, and with such resources at our disposal we are doing our utmost under the guidance of the Local Government and taking such steps as advised by their experts to remove the cause of complaint.

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The expansion of the city has increased the burden of municipal administration. The modern requirements of sanitary science are exacting and we are faced with the necessity for further expenditure on necessary improvements.

The electric light scheme, the drainage scheme and the town improvement scheme must be carried into effect, but we are unable to make much headway for want of funds unless we are assisted by the generosity of the Local Government.

Agra used to be an important manufacturing centre in years past, but has lost much of its importance in that connection for various causes. Now that a commission has been appointed by His Majesty's Government to make inquiries into the possibilities of the expansion of various industries in India, we trust that the industries of Agra may be revived through the establishment of a school of art and industry in our city.

The need of a good central railway station for the whole of Agra is still badly felt. The matter was brought to the notice of Government, but the Board has not been acquainted with the decision arrived at. Meanwhile the inconvenience to passengers and to trade is considerable.

As an educational centre Agra has long been famous.

For secondary education we have the Victoria High School, the Mufid-i-Am School, St. John's Collegiate School, St. Peter's Collegiate School, the Balvant Rajput High School, Brahman School and the Government High School. Even so however the provision for secondary education is scarcely adequate and many students are unable to obtain admission. We trust therefore that in the event of any further grant being made by the Government of India for higher education the claims of Agra for a second high school may not be overlooked. The existing schools are in some cases deserving objects of pecuniary assistance and we keenly feel the need in the interest of taxpayers of extending a helping hand to them, and strongly hope that the rules hampering us from doing so will be made elastic so as to enable us to carry out the above object. The two colleges in Agra, namely the Agra College and the St. John's College, draw students from Rajputana and other

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places far and near and are hardly sufficient for the number of students seeking admission.

It is therefore perhaps not in vain that the citizens of Agra cherish the hope that Agra may one day develop into a great university town worthy to rank in that respect with elder sisters of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad.

In drawing Your Excellency's attention to our much-needed requirements we are not unmindful of the enormous expenditure required for the purposes of war to which in common with the rest of the Empire we have added our humble mite and are anxiously looking forward for the day when India with the rest of the Empire would be rejoicing over the victory of the British arms and thereafter enter on a more progressive career.

Your Excellency's visit to our city has happily coincided with the opening of a new chapter in the history of Local Self-Government in these Provinces under the new Municipalities Act, and it is the first occasion that a non-official is the chairman of the Board.

We trust that by the help and assistance of our *ex-chairman*, Mr. J. C. Fergusson, to whom the Board is very grateful for his constant courtesy and keen interest always taken by him in the affairs of the Municipal Board, we may achieve full success.

We heartily trust that Lady Chelmsford and Your Excellency will enjoy your stay among us and that in the course of your Indian residence you may find time to visit Agra again.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Apart from the pleasure which Lady Chelmsford and I have derived from the warm welcome given to us by you, the chosen representatives of its public life, I am particularly glad to have this early opportunity of wishing you success in your new and independent career of Municipal administration. There can be no better school for training the political sense than that of Municipal administration. In it among other things you learn that it is easy to

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make promises, but that it is not always as easy to carry them out ; and above all you can learn the spirit of co-operation in work which is indispensable if the community is to prosper. These are some of the lessons which my close connection with municipal administration in London has taught me and I offer them for your consideration ; and be assured that I appreciate to the full both the difficulties of your work and the political importance of Local Self-Government. I gather from your address and from what I have read of municipal politics in these provinces that your difficulties have been great, but that you have tackled them with courage and, on the whole, with success. To emphasise what I have said with regard to co-operation in work, may I congratulate you on the excellent example which you have shown to the rest of the province in the amicable election of the new Municipal Board under the new law. I understand that Agra has in the past been the battlefield of considerable sectarian strife and it does much credit to the good sense and wisdom of her leading citizens that the existing amicable relations have been established. Provided that these relations are maintained and all classes work together in the cause of progress, I think that you can face with equanimity the solution of your more material problems of taxation and finance.

Though you have found the provision of a new water-supply a heavy drain upon your resources, you are fully entitled to claim that your enterprise in adopting a modern system of pumping and distribution as long ago as 1891 has been justified. No progress is possible without experiment, and the experience gained by you in this matter has been of value not only to yourselves, but also to your sister municipalities throughout the province, and I am sure that the Local

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Government will be ready to give you all the assistance in their power.

You have mentioned in your address the hope that at some future date Agra may have its own University. I am very loath to make promises which subsequent events may render impossible of fulfilment. We have as a Government large educational problems to solve. Primary education, the training of teachers and the improvement of women's education all demand attention ; and co-ordination between the various spheres of primary, secondary and University education cannot be overlooked. These various problems are engaging the earnest attention of my Hon'ble colleague, Sir Sankaran Nair, and in these circumstances you will not expect me to pledge the Government of India in any particular instance, but I should like to congratulate you on the admirable colleges and high schools which have been established in your city. Municipal progress and sound education go hand in hand, and people will only become ready to bear the cost of efficient administration when they have been trained up to appreciate its benefits.

It is a great pleasure to me to be able to offer you these congratulations, for of all cities Agra should inspire its citizens to walk worthy of the place in which they live. I have been looking forward with intense pleasure to visiting you and I am glad to have been able to take this opportunity.

In conclusion, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself, I thank you very warmly for your welcome and look forward to renewing our acquaintance at some future date. In the meantime I wish you all success in your labours.

OPENING OF THE 1ST SECTION OF THE JAIPUR-SHEKHAWATI RAILWAY.

[His Excellency the Viceroy performed the ceremony of opening the 9th November 1916.
above railway on the 9th November 1916.

The following address was read by the Superintending Engineer of the Jaipur State :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—At the request of His Highness the Maharaja I beg leave to read the following short account of the Jaipur-Shekhawati Railway.

By the completion in 1907, at a cost of Rs. 23,42,013, of the Jaipur-Sawai Madhopur Railway, a length of 73 miles, the city of Jaipur was put in direct communication with the southern portion of the State and with the Nagda-Muthra Railway.

In 1910 the Durbar decided to undertake the survey of a railway running due north from Jaipur City, crossing the Rewari-Phulera Railway at Reengus and traversing Shekhawati and the northern portion of the State to its extreme limits on the borders of the Punjab, a further length of 138 miles.

The first 36 miles of this railway is now ready for opening, while the completion of a further length of 30 miles is only delayed owing to war conditions.

The new railway will run through the important towns of Chomu, Sikar, Nawalgarh and Dundlodh, all seats of important Sirdars of the Jaipur State, to Jhunjhunu, the headquarters of the Shekhawati Nizamat and famous as the former cantonment of Foster's Brigade, now the 13th Rajputs (Shekhawati Regiment), of which His Highness the Maharaja is Honorary Colonel. Thence it is eventually proposed to extend the line to Chirawa and Surajgarh in the extreme north-east corner of the Jaipur State.

The line will traverse undulating sandy but fertile plains from which isolated peaks, ridges, and spurs of the Aravali Hills crop out, and onwards through the rolling sand hills of Shekhawati over which the peaks of Raghunathgarh tower to a height of 3,450 feet.

Important rivers on the first section are crossed at the Bandi, Govindgarh and Reengus by bridges of 4 and 5 spans of 60 feet plate

Opening of Jaipur-Shekhawati Railway.

girders, the piers and abutments being founded on wells sunk to a depth of 35 to 50 feet below the bed of the rivers.

The construction of these bridges is adapted for subsequent conversion to broad gauge if this ever becomes necessary.

The City of Jaipur is already served by the Main Station of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, but it was considered advantageous to provide an additional station for the convenience of local traffic.

In the design of the station buildings for the new line, of which Jaipur West is one of the smaller type, we have endeavoured to introduce some of the oriental features of older buildings in Jaipur.

Before concluding, I would desire to take the opportunity of expressing my deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur for the keen interest he takes in railway matters. My obligations are also due to the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Faiyaz Ali Khan, Minister, and to the staff who have assisted in the construction of the railway, particularly to Mr. D. M. Cookson, Executive Engineer, for nearly two years my Personal Assistant and now on service in East Africa, and to Lala Rupchand, the Senior Assistant Engineer, in charge of works.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Woolcombe, Agent of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, whose Company will work the line for the Durbar, is unavoidably absent to-day, but it is a source of satisfaction that Mr. Hanson, General Traffic Manager, is in our midst to-day.

It needs no assurance from me that not only the Durbar but the Jaipur public feel greatly honoured and are sincerely grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy for consenting to perform the opening ceremony of the Jaipur-Reengus Section of this State railway. The presence of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford on this occasion has accentuated the pleasure we all feel; and for this we are greatly indebted to Her Excellency.

In declaring the railway open His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me much pleasure to be present here to-day to perform the opening ceremony of the Jaipur-Shekhawati Railway and I have

Opening of Jaipur-Shekhawati Railway.

heard with much interest the account of the new railway which has just been read by Your Highness' Superintending Engineer, Mr. Stotherd.

No Viceroy can be indifferent to the extension of India's railway system and I am very glad to be associated with the opening of this section of your new railway. I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Your Highness on this proof of your great interest in the development of the resources of your State and the improvement of the communications and facilities for trade and commerce. I am informed that the Shekhawati towns are the homes of many of the wealthiest and most influential Seths and Merchants of Bombay, Calcutta and of all the great trading centres of India ; and to these the new railway will come as the greatest boon. The stern features of this northern country also produce the sturdy and martial races of Shekhawati who have furnished for the Indian Army of His Majesty the King-Emperor some of the best soldiers, whose deeds in France and Gallipoli, in Egypt, in Africa and Mesopotamia have already earned undying fame. These races have contributed their part in the great struggle for the liberation of the world from the aggressive despotism with which it is threatened. I am informed that 1,800 recruits have been enlisted from the district of Shekhawati alone since the beginning of the war and that a thousand military pensioners enjoy the fruits of their meritorious service in the Jaipur State.

These facts remind us of the military history of Your Highness' State and race and carry on the fine traditions of Your Highness' illustrious predecessors. Among these stands out pre-eminent the figure of Maharaja Man Singh, a contemporary of the famous Emperor Akbar, whose confidence

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he enjoyed in the highest degree and from whose hands he received the command of 7,000 troops and the Governorship successively of Kabul, Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

[It now only remains for me to say that I shall have great pleasure in acceding to Your Highness' request to perform the Opening Ceremony of the first section of the Jaipur-Shekhawati Railway and in doing so to wish every success to the undertaking which has been carried out under Your Highness' orders and through Your Highness' capable Superintending Engineer, Mr. Stotherd.

BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

10th November 1916. [During the course of his autumn tour His Excellency the Viceroy paid an official visit to Jaipur on the night of the 10th November. His Highness the Maharaja gave a State Banquet in honour of the Viceroy's visit.

In proposing the toast of His Excellency's health His Highness spoke as follows:—

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I had the honour and pleasure of a private interview with Your Excellency at Delhi soon after Your Lordship assumed the Viceroyalty in April last, Your Excellency received me with so much kindness and cordiality and expressed such friendly interest in me and my State that I was emboldened to make a request that Jaipur might be included in the programme of Your Excellency's winter tour this year. Your Excellency assured me that it would afford Your Excellency great pleasure to pay a visit to Jaipur if nothing unforeseen happened. Now that my heart's desire to receive Your Excellency at my capital has been fulfilled, I do not know how sufficiently to express the gratitude and joy I feel. I am indeed very proud that Jaipur should be the first State to receive a visit from His Majesty the King-Emperor's Representative in India.

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Much as I am gratified by the visit of Your Excellency to my capital, the pleasure has been greatly enhanced by the presence of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford. Fortunately, after two successive years of drought, we have had a good and timely rainfall which has given rise to hopes of a good harvest and abundant fodder, things that will bring cheer to the homes of my people who, I may assure Your Excellency, regard this visit as most auspicious.

The thought that is uppermost in our minds at the present moment is the great European war which has been dragging its weary length for over two years now and has demanded such large sacrifices of men and money not only from the United Kingdom but also from the world-wide British Empire. Your Excellency in the speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla referred to the share that India has taken in this war in the defence of the cause of justice and righteousness against unwarranted aggression.

Your Excellency also mentioned, in terms of the greatest appreciation, the services which the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have rendered to the Empire on this critical occasion. I firmly believe that they are all justly proud that they were able to do some service to the British Empire as a mark of their gratitude for the blessings of peace and security they have enjoyed under the beneficent protection of the British Throne. For my own part, I feel I have not been able to do as much as I wished—as owing to old age I am unable personally to join those of my brother-chiefs who are at the front, and on account of the partial famine that prevailed in Jaipur since the commencement of the war, I was hampered in many ways. I, however, placed my Transport Corps at the disposal of the Government and I am informed that it is doing its share of work to the satisfaction of the military authorities in charge of the operations in Mesopotamia. For the last few months there has been a marked change in the manner in which the advance of our enemy has been checked. In fact the tables are turned and the allied armies are gaining ground every day on all fronts and maintaining successfully their newly-won positions. The end of this terrible struggle is in sight and the day is, we devoutly pray, not far off when the Allies will gain a complete and glorious victory over the enemy of civilisation.

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As it is customary on an occasion like this to give a brief account of what has been done in the State since the last Viceregal visit, I venture to trespass on Your Excellency's attention and touch upon a few of the more important events that have taken place in my administration during the past four years.

I have just mentioned that there has been drought in Jaipur for the last two years in succession and the consequence was great scarcity of food-grains and especially of fodder. From our experience of the great famine of 1899-1900, we know the value of railways in facilitating transport of food-grains and fodder and it was with this end in view that I sanctioned the survey and alignment of a line from Jaipur to Loharu in the Punjab, a distance of 139 miles within Jaipur territory through Shekhawati — the tract of country in which the difficulty of transport is greatest. I am very much indebted to Your Excellency for the great honour Your Lordship has done me in performing the opening ceremony of the 1st section of the J.-S. Railway. This line will open up, when completed, some of the areas most affected by famine and connect with the capital some very important towns in my territory. I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of the very valuable services rendered in this connection by Mr. Stotherd, my Superintending Engineer, and his staff.

Another result of the failure of the monsoon was the fall in the sub-soil level of water and consequent diminution in the area under cultivation by well-irrigation. To relieve the distress owing to scarcity of fodder for cattle, my Durbar had to import a considerable quantity of fodder from outside and in freight alone over a lakh and a quarter of rupees had to be paid. The subsidence of the sub-soil water level affected not only agricultural operations but also the water-supply of the city. Five new wells had to be sunk in the bed of the river in addition to the existing ones which in former years yielded a plentiful supply. To meet the increased demands in the city which during the last hot weather reached one million gallons per day, new pumping machinery had to be installed.

As there are no perennial streams within my territory and, as unfortunately rain-fall is too often deficient, it has been the policy of my Durbar to add to the number of irrigation works year-to-year and, in

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accordance with this practice, two new irrigation dams, the Dhilnadai and Hingonia Bunds, have been completed within the past four years at a total outlay of nearly four lakhs of rupees.

From the year 1878, the lighting of the city has been done by means of gas made from crude kerosine oil ; but on account of increased demands, sanction had to be given for the construction of an up-to-date coal gas installation at a cost of one lakh and fifteen thousand rupees.

Amongst other minor public improvements, I may mention the new road to Amber. The old steep track has been replaced by the new road on an easy gradient winding through the hills and over the ghat — through a cutting nearly forty feet below the old road. Though it has cost the State a little over a lakh of rupees, yet it has not only afforded great convenience to tourists visiting the old city and Palace which was for six centuries the home of my ancestors, but has facilitated the import of produce from the districts into the markets at Jaipur and also provided an easy access to the nearest railway station.

I had greatly wished that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford should perform the opening ceremony of the Female Hospital Ward which is to bear the name of Lady Hardinge — whose genuine interest in the welfare of the Indian Zenana ladies is evidenced by the Medical College for Women in Delhi — an institution which will ever remain a monument of the large-hearted sympathy which the late Vicerene had for the women of India and her untiring efforts to mitigate their sufferings due to want of proper medical aid reaching the Zenana. The Lady Hardinge Hospital Ward, when completed, will accommodate nine small families who observe strict rules of *pardah*. It is hoped that this privilege of staying with the patient will be very much appreciated and will make hospital treatment more popular with this class of people than it is now. I am greatly disappointed that the building is not yet ready, but I do sincerely trust Her Excellency will find time to pay even a short visit to Jaipur again, and perform the opening ceremony of this Ward. Jaipur is only a few hours' journey from Delhi and may I express the hope that Her Excellency, during the next Delhi season, will be able to spare time to come here for the purpose.

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I should not let this occasion pass without a brief reference to the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs which I attended the other day at Delhi. I shall not touch upon the subjects discussed in the meeting nor upon the far-reaching effects that such Conference will have on the well-being of the Ruling Princes and their States. I shall only voice the opinion of all the Princes and Chiefs assembled there and express our gratitude to Your Excellency for having shown such keen interest in and genuine sympathy with our aims and aspirations. I sincerely hope that these meetings will continue to be held from year to year and secure to us the benefits which accrue from a free exchange of views on subjects affecting our States.

As this will probably be the last Viceregal visit in which my old friend Sir Elliot Colvin will be present, I would like very much to express publicly my deep obligations to him, for his readiness to help me with sound advice and wise counsel in all matters of State during the long period of his incumbency as the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana. I desire, therefore, to thank him now for the many acts of kindness and courtesy he has shown to me. With his name I would desire to associate that of my friend Colonel Benn, who has, ever since he has been accredited to my State, lent me valuable assistance whenever I required it. My best thanks are especially due to Mrs. Benn, on whom has devolved the arduous duties of hostess on behalf of the Durbar, and I well know how much the success of my efforts for the entertainment of my illustrious guests has depended on the tact and foresight of the lady at the Residency.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer than is necessary to propose the toast of the evening — I call upon you to drink to the health and prosperity of my illustrious guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford.

The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am much obliged to Your Highness for the cordial terms in which you have proposed our healths, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, for the manner in which you have received the toast.

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In the first place I should like to say that I appreciate most fully the warm tribute which Your Highness has paid to Sir Elliot Colvin. In him the Rajput State has had for many years a sincere and devoted friend and I am indeed glad to learn from Your Highness' lips of the deep feelings of gratitude and regard with which Jaipur repays him.

I also desire to associate myself with the thanks which Your Highness has expressed to Colonel and Mrs. Benn for all that they have done to assist us in the full enjoyment of Your Highness' courteous hospitality.

This is my first official visit to a Native State in India, and the warmth of our welcome, though not unexpected in the capital of the Maharaja of Jaipur, has deeply touched us both. The pleasure of the visit has been enhanced by the exquisite beauty of the surroundings and by the opportunity which it has given of improving my acquaintance with the distinguished Prince whom I met for the first time at Delhi in April last.

As His Highness has observed, the first subject of our thoughts at present must be the great European war with the progress of which, though no man can predict when the end will come, we have every reason to be satisfied. The events of the past few months have completely changed the situation, and the success of the allied cause, though this was never in doubt, has now been rendered doubly certain. Let us all hope that the end will come soon and that the efforts and sacrifices which we have made will be crowned by a complete victory which, though it cannot restore to mankind all that it has lost, should ensure for many generations to come a freedom from the horrors of war and a wholesome respect for the rights of nations and the laws of civilisation.

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When the final victory comes, it will be a pleasure to reflect on the great part played by the Native States of India in achieving this result ; and I feel confident that all here will agree with me that among the foremost to set the tone of loyalty in India in this crisis, and to lend moral and material support to our armies, must be placed our host of this evening, the Maharaja of Jaipur, whose princely contributions of which I have just received another proof in the gift of £5,000 in honour of my first visit, have added to his already famous name for loyalty and generosity and whose Imperial Service Transport Corps is now doing most valuable work in Mesopotamia.

I have been glad to learn, from Your Highness' modest statement, the progress that has been made in the development of irrigation works and of railways in the State. I congratulate you on what has been achieved and wish every success to your further undertakings. Your Highness is, I am aware, strongly conservative in your ideas, as is not inconsistent in one of the oldest Rulers in Rajputana, and, although ready to adopt new ways when such appear to be for the public advantage, you are naturally slow to make change merely for change's sake, where no material benefit appears to you likely to follow. I fully understand Your Highness' attitude, but I am at the same time confident that, should need arise for reform in any direction, your sense of public duty will prompt you to do what is best for your people and for the Empire at large.

As regards the Lady Hardinge Hospital Ward, which to-day I have had an opportunity of visiting in its uncompleted state, Lady Chelmsford asks me to say that she is deeply

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interested in the scheme, which will not only help to perpetuate the memory of the gracious lady whose name it bears, but also promises to be a real boon to the *purdah* ladies of Jaipur. She is grateful to Your Highness for inviting her to perform the opening ceremony and hopes to find an opportunity for visiting Jaipur later for this purpose.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel that, in proposing the toast of His Highness the Maharaja, I am speaking to an appreciative audience and that no words of mine are needed to describe his shrewdness, his generous loyalty and public spirit, and his genuine kindness of heart. I ask you therefore to join with me in drinking to the health, long life, prosperity and happiness of our host, Major-General His Highness Sir Sawai Madho Singh Bahadur of Jaipur.

BANQUET AT UDAIPUR.

[During the course of the Viceroy's stay at Udaipur, His Highness the Maharaja entertained Their Excellencies at a Banquet at which His Highness proposed the health of his guests as follows:—

14th November 1916.

Ever since the day when I had the pleasure of meeting Your Excellency at Dehra Dun it has been my heart's desire to hasten the day when I should welcome Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford at my capital.

I am sincerely grateful that Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford have thus fulfilled my heart's desire on your very first tour.

Coming events cast their shadows before them or perhaps in this case I should rather say their rays of light. Copious rains have been the fore-runners of Your Excellency's visit and lakes which lay bare and empty have now filled, with the result that scarcity of fodder is now no

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more with us, the land has yielded a rich harvest and the natural beauty of Udaipur is seen at its best.

The shadow of war still hangs over the world. But all rejoice at the brighter prospects which have now opened out before the allies and at the advances and successes which are recorded day by day. It is my fervent hope that the Almighty may grant a speedy end to this mighty struggle and may vouchsafe to the British Government and their allies a complete and glorious victory and the restoration of a world-wide and lasting peace.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of my distinguished guests.

His Excellency in responding to the toast spoke as follows:—]

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Ever since my arrival in India, it has been my eager desire to visit Udaipur, the home of the premier chief of Rajputana, the land of beautiful lakes and palaces, the scene of so many glorious deeds of chivalry in the past, the birthplace of so many heroes — Khoman, Hamir, Chonda, Khumbo, Partap, Raj Singh, to mention only a few, these are names of which any nation and any age might be proud. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure that I received from His Highness, when he visited me in April last, an informal invitation to visit his capital. Uncertainty as to the agricultural situation of Rajputana prevented me at that time from giving a definite answer to the invitation, but the bountiful rains that have since fallen have removed all anxiety on that account, and I rejoice to think that, in visiting Udaipur now, I am visiting a country with every prospect of an abundant harvest and of renewed prosperity before it. The visit also affords me the opportunity of improving my acquaintance with His Highness the Maharana, whose noble hospitality we are enjoying. The

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pleasure with which we looked forward to this visit has, I need hardly say, been fully realised, and I shall leave Udaipur not only with the most delightful recollections of its charm and beauty, but also with the hope that I have inaugurated a real friendship with a Prince whose loyalty is proverbial, and who symbolises in his own person all that is most noble, all that is most chivalrous in the Rajput character. My interest in the Native States in India is naturally intense, and I recognise their enormous value and importance in the scheme of Empire. Their material value has been abundantly shown in the support which they have given so lavishly to the cause of Great Britain in the present war, and I congratulate His Highness on the princely share that he has taken in the general demonstrations of loyalty and good-will. I feel that in any similar crisis that may occur I can always count on the co-operation of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, and the importance of this co-operation it would be difficult to exaggerate. I can assure His Highness that I on my part shall always do my best to preserve the dignities and privileges of his princely order and to assist the Indian rulers in the development of their States and in solving the problems of administration with which they may be confronted. I claim only in return that my friendly confidence shall be reciprocated, that trust shall be given for trust, and that no shadow of doubt or suspicion shall rest between us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no more to say except to thank you for honouring the toast which His Highness proposed in such cordial terms, and to call on you to join with me in drinking the health of our illustrious host, His Highness Maharana Sir Fateh Singh of Udaipur.

ADDRESS FROM AJMER MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

17th November 1916. In the course of his tour in Rajputana His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Ajmer on the 17th November and was presented with an address from the Municipality which was replied to by His Excellency in the following terms :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for your cordial welcome to Lady Chelmsford and myself and for the terms in which you have expressed your loyalty and devotion to the British Government and to Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress.

Ajmer, the ancient seat of the Chauhan dynasty, which after many vicissitudes passed under British rule, must always be an object of deep interest to a Viceroy of India, and I have looked forward with keen pleasure to my first visit to your beautiful city. I can well understand your anxiety, as guardians of a city with such historical associations and containing architectural treasures of such rare beauty, to keep the municipal administration up to a high level of efficiency. I regret to learn that the economic difficulties inevitably occasioned by the great war in which we are engaged have reduced your financial resources and hampered the development of the city on the lines which you have indicated. We must hope however that when peace has been restored, you will be able to proceed rapidly and successfully with the schemes of electric lighting and surface drainage, which you regard as essential to the development of Ajmer as a model city. In the meanwhile in the completion of your Water-Supply Scheme you have carried out a project of inestimable value, vital to the very existence of Ajmer. In the days of my professional life I was more than once connected with schemes of water-supply of considerable magnitude, so that I am always interested in such schemes as yours and in the

Address to the Istimrardars of Ajmer.

methods devised to carry them out. I congratulate you on the institution and successful completion of this scheme, which should ensure you for all time against the danger of water famine, which, I understand, has not unfrequently threatened you. I congratulate you too on the magnificent rainfall during the recent monsoon which should relieve you of all anxiety on the score of water for the coming year.

Lastly I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the citizens of Ajmer for the assistance rendered by them to the various war funds in India, by which they have maintained the reputation of Ajmer for loyalty among the great cities of India.

ADDRESS TO THE ISTIMRARDARS OF AJMER

[While at Ajmer His Excellency met the Istimrardars, whom he 17th November 1916.
addressed in the following terms :—]

Istimrardars of Ajmer,—It gives me great pleasure, on this my first visit to Ajmer, to make the acquaintance of the Tazimi Istimrardars, with whose past history and present condition I have been made acquainted by Sir E. Colvin, and in whose welfare I take a close and friendly interest.

From the time, nearly 100 years ago, when your ancient estates and baronies passed under the direct control of the East India Company, your interests have been the constant care of the British authorities, and I think I am right in saying that while the connection has been a source of strength to the Government, you on your part have had no reason to complain of neglect or want of liberality. I earnestly trust that these happy relations will remain always undisturbed.

Address to the Istimrardars of Ajmer.

I regret to learn that, since my predecessor Lord Hardinge visited Ajmer four years ago, five of your number have passed away. One of these, Rao Bahadur Thakur Gaj Singh of Bandanwara, who died this year in the full vigour of his manhood, was especially commended by Lord Hardinge for the careful and successful administration of his estate. I trust that his son and successor, whom I am glad to meet here to-day, will follow in his father's footsteps. I trust too that the successors to the estates of Bhinai, Sawar, Mehrun Kalan and Pisangan, whose presence is also welcomed, will realize the responsibilities attaching to their high position.

Of the reason for the absence of the Thakur of Kharwa this is hardly the occasion to speak. You will, I feel sure, share my regret that he should by his conduct have cast a slur on the good name of his family and of his fellow-Istimrardars.

I have heard with much pleasure of the liberal contributions made by the Tazimi Istimrardars to the Ajmer Aeroplane Fund—contributions which are all the more appreciated for the fact that recent seasons have been unfavourable. I thank you for your generosity, which will help towards the speedy victory of the great Empire to which you belong.

I am glad to learn from Sir E. Colvin that free use has been made of the Ajmer Taluqdars Loan Regulation of 1911, which was framed in order to help the Istimrardars of Ajmer to pay off the burden of debts which has for many years oppressed them. You will realise that if full benefit is to be derived from this measure it is necessary that, when a loan is taken, the instalments should be duly and punctually

Prize Distribution at Mayo College, Ajmer.

repaid, and I trust that in this matter I may count on your true appreciation of your own interests.

With these few words I wish you godspeed and trust that the coming years may bring to you all renewed prosperity and happiness.

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AT MAYO COLLEGE, AJMER.

[His Excellency the Viceroy attended the prize distribution at the Mayo College on the 18th November and in asking His Excellency to distribute the prizes the Principal, Mr. C. W. Waddington, spoke as follows :—

18th November 1916.

Your Excellency,—I beg leave to offer to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a very hearty welcome on behalf of the Mayo College. It is a striking proof of the warm and practical interest which Your Excellency takes in all branches of education that in spite of the additional strain and responsibility imposed by the great war in which the Empire is engaged, Your Excellency has yet found time within a few months of assuming office to pay a visit to one of the Chiefs' Colleges and to verify by personal inspection what part these institutions are playing in the training of the youth of India, and how their usefulness may be extended in future. Your Excellency's intimate knowledge of educational problems in Europe is well known to us, and emboldens me to lay before you our difficulties and aspirations with the confident assurance that in both we shall receive the benefit of Your Excellency's experience and sympathy.

Your Excellency is aware how much this College is indebted to the liberality of the Chiefs of Rajputana on the one hand, and to the Government of India on the other, who between them built, founded and endowed the College some 45 years ago. Since that time the chief landmark in our history has been the re-organization of the College by Lord Curzon in 1903, when the Government of India raised their annual grant from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 53,000, and contributed

Prize Distribution at Mayo College, Ajmer.

2 lakhs towards the new East Wing. The Chiefs on their part since 1903 have raised the Endowment Fund from Rs. 7,34,000 to Rs. 10,34,000 and have made many handsome gifts to the College, the aggregate cost of which amounts to nearly Rs. 4 lakhs. I believe that in respect of buildings, playgrounds and equipment the College now need not fear comparison with any College in India.

Educationally an advance was made at the same time by establishing a Diploma for all the Chiefs' Colleges, which has been recognized by the University of Allahabad and others as equivalent to the Matriculation Certificate. I may mention that during the 12 years that the examination has been held 101 boys from the Mayo College have taken their Diplomas.

Soon after the Diploma was started, there was a strong demand for a higher curriculum, analogous to a University Course, and in accordance with this a Post-Diploma Course was inaugurated in 1906.

This is a 3 years' course in English, History, and Administration, leading up to a Higher Diploma, which has been recognized by Government as equivalent to the B. A. degree for purposes of Government service.

The work was in the first place undertaken by the College staff as an experimental measure for 5 years, at the end of which the General Council laid before the Government of India a project for a separate institution for the higher education of Chiefs. The progress of this scheme has been delayed by the war, but in the meantime some Chiefs of the General Council have generously financed a temporary arrangement by which the work is being carried on, and the Government of India have lent the services of two members of the Indian Civil Service, Messrs. Drake and Evans. Two additional Indian Masters have also been appointed for the purpose. In this way it is hoped that the Post-Diploma classes can be continued till the Higher College is opened or other arrangements are made for the higher education of young Chiefs and Thakurs, some of whom need a knowledge of Law and Administration for the management of their estates, while others are anxious to qualify for professions or for posts under Government or in the Native States.

Prize Distribution at Mayo College, Ajmer.

Since 1906, 65 boys have joined the Post-Diploma classes, of whom 17 are still studying, while 48 have left. Of these 12 are Ruling Chiefs or Thakurs, while of the remaining 36 the greater number have obtained useful posts either under the British Government or in the Native States.

The two questions to which I have referred are the most important which await settlement at the present time, I mean the higher education of boys from the Chiefs' Colleges and the provision of suitable employment for them. I believe that in future there will be a still greater demand for higher education and a larger number of boys from the Chiefs' Colleges who wish to make for themselves careers of credit and usefulness. I venture to appeal both to the Native States and to the Government of India to provide them with increased facilities for entering professions as well as the service of Government and of the Native States.

The position and prospects of the staff, both English and Indian, are also matters vital to the future well-being of the College. The General Council have already resolved that the scale of salaries of the Indian Staff should be gradually raised so as to secure and retain men of unquestionably high qualifications. As regards the English Staff the Council have decided that with the approval of the Government of India an additional Master should be appointed as soon as possible, and it is hoped that after the war the permanent staff will be raised to not less than 5 English Masters, a number which competent authorities have pronounced to be no more than adequate for a College of this description.

To turn to the year's work for which the prizes are to be presented to-day.

The Post-Diploma classes were in charge of Mr. Drake, and 5 candidates were sent up for the Higher Diploma, all of whom passed their examinations. For the Diploma, 16 candidates were sent up, and all passed the examination. The highest boy, Maharaj Kumar Himmat Singh of Idar, stood first among the 30 candidates from all the Chiefs' Colleges. He obtained distinction in 5 out of the 6 subjects, and more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of full marks in the aggregate.

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This is the best result obtained by any boy since the examination was started. Out of the 7 years for which the examination has been common to all the Colleges, he is the 4th Mayo College boy to head the list.

Other boys who did well in the examination are Maharaj Mandhata Singh of Sailana, who obtained distinction in English, Kanwar Amar Singh of Ajairajpura, Jaipur, and His Highness Maharaja Kishen Singh of Bharatpur, who gained distinction in Science, and Kanwar Vishwanath Singh of Sailana and Thakur Bijai Singh of Masuda, Ajmer, who gained distinction in Administration.

Maharaj Prithi Singh of Khilerian, Bikaner, and Kanwar Hamir Singh of Daspan, Marwar, who stood 5th and 6th on the general list, also did very creditably.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Medal for the best scholar in the Diploma Class is deservedly won by Maharaj Kumar Himmat Singh of Idar.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Medal for the best all-round athlete has been awarded to Kanwar Padam Singh of Minda, Marwar, who was a useful member of both the Cricket and Football Elevens, and also the best lawn-tennis player.

The Riding Prize goes to His Highness Maharaja Kishen Singh of Bharatpur.

The Athletic Sports Championship Cup to Kanwar Suraj Singh of That, Kishengarh.

The Batting Prize to Maharaj Purna Chandra of Mayurbhanj.

The Bowling Prize to Thakur Nathu Singh of Kalera-Bogla, Ajmer.

The Lawn-tennis Cup to Kanwar Padam Singh of Minda, Marwar.

The Squash Racquets Cup to Raja Suryapal Singh of Awagarh.

There are to be presented two "Loch Memorial" Swords of Honour for good conduct, one to Chowdhri Kamal Singh of Devli, Bharatpur, who was Head Monitor in 1913-14, and one to Kanwar Himmat Singh of Kunari, Kotah, who was Head Monitor in 1915-16.

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The Annual Tournament with the Aitchison College was a well-fought struggle, but ended in favour of the Aitchison College, and the Patiala Challenge Shield has still to be recovered from Lahore.

There are also to be given away by Your Excellency 6 Challenge Cups for various contests between the Boarding Houses, and a number of certificates from the St. John Ambulance Association to boys who have passed the examination in First Aid to the Injured.

The other prizes for work and games do not call for special remark.

The Inspectors appointed by the Government of India, Dr. Caldwell, Professor of Chemistry at the Patna College, and Mr. Sanderson, Inspector of Schools in the Punjab, visited the College in March, and their report was generally satisfactory as regards the teaching in all classes, the relations between masters and pupils, the physical fitness and general tone of the College, and the bearing and behaviour of the boys.

It may seem remarkable to offer this normal record of peaceful activities in the middle of the great war which is devastating so many of the countries of the world. The College, like the rest of India, has enjoyed a fortunate security which we owe to our gallant navy and army fighting far away from the shores of India.

Yet the College has naturally felt the profoundest interest in the great war, and a number of old boys and others connected with the College have served or are serving with His Majesty's forces in different parts of the world. The old boys include Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Lieutenant His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, His Highness the Rana of Barwani, Thakur Pratap Singh of Sankhwai, Marwar, Lieutenant Kanwar Hira Singh of Panna, Kanwar Prithi Singh of Bera, Marwar, Thakur Dalpat Singh of Rohet, Marwar, and Captain Sardar Singh of Shahpura, who have all served with the Expeditionary Force in France; Major His Highness the Maharaja of Idar, who has served in Egypt; and Lieutenants Nawab Ibrahim Khan of Sachin, and Lieutenant Kanwar Prithi Singh of Bhoorajheri, Kotah, who have served in East Africa.

Four members of the English Staff have joined the army, *viz.*, Messrs. Twiss, Ashcroft, Braithwaite and Millar, of whom the first 3 are in

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France; and Mr. Guest-Williams, who was a temporary member of the staff when war broke out, returned to military duty and has since been killed.

Six College Guardians are now at the front, and another, Major Cole, has returned after being severely wounded.

A College War Fund, which was opened shortly after the outbreak of War and is maintained by the boys, masters, guardians and subordinate staff, sends approximately Rs. 750 monthly to one or other of the War Relief Funds.

On the outbreak of war a subscription of Rs. 3,482 from the boys and staff was sent to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, and the two Anniversaries of the Declaration of War on August 4th, 1915, and August 4th, 1916, were marked by special donations which were placed at the disposal of His Excellency the Viceroy as a token of the devotion of the College to the just cause in which India is helping the Empire.

These donations do not include a number of gifts which have been made individually to Government by minor Chiefs who are studying at the College.

It is my privilege to offer a hearty welcome to the old boys who have come here on this occasion. As an old public school boy, Your Excellency is well aware that the support of its old boys is vital to the progress of every school, and there is nothing that gives us greater pleasure and satisfaction than when we see our old boys assembled to engage in friendly contests between the past and the present.

However briefly, I must none the less heartily acknowledge the debt which is owing to the members of the College Staff, both English and Indian, for their work and co-operation during the year. The College is proud that so large a proportion of the regular English Staff have been permitted to go to the front, but their absence would have been a serious handicap, if the Government of India had not come to our assistance by lending us the services of Messrs. Drake and Evans, and also if two of the Guardians of boys, Major Cole and Mr. Bladen, had not placed their services voluntarily and unreservedly at the disposal of the College. With their assistance, added to the ungrudging

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labours of the remaining members of the staff, we have been able to "carry on," I hope in a satisfactory manner.

I should like, if I may, to take this opportunity of offering the hearty gratitude of the College, and of myself personally, to Sir Elliot Colvin, who as Head of the Province and Vice-President of the College Council has been intimately associated with the life of the College for a period of no less than 11 years. No one perhaps is in a better position than I to testify from personal experience to Sir Elliot Colvin's unfailing interest and support, his encouragement of our efforts, his sympathy in our disappointments, his pleasure in our successes, and his wise advice and practical assistance in every project for the development of the College.

I beg to thank Your Excellency most heartily on behalf of the College for the practical kindness and support evinced by Your Excellency's visit. May I now ask Your Excellency to be kind enough to listen to some pieces of recitation which the boys have prepared, and afterwards to distribute the prizes?

His Excellency replied in the following terms:—]

I am using no conventional phrase when I say that it is a very real pleasure to me to be here to-day and distribute the prizes.

In the first place, I am able to meet Mr. Waddington on the scene of his successful and distinguished labours. It is close on 30 years since I first met Mr. Waddington, and no University man ever quite loses the feeling which he entertains as a freshman for the senior man who is also a distinguished University athlete. I met Mr. Waddington first under these conditions and in my mind's eye I can still see him playing association football for Oxford and dribbling the ball down the field. But Mr. Waddington is also impressed on my mind as a man who has done a remarkable piece of work in the educational sphere, and it is impossible to overestimate the influence which he has exercised through his quiet but

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forceful personality on the generations of princely and noble houses who have passed through his hands, and I am sure that the princes and Chiefs who first made their plunge into life at the Mayo College will ever hold in grateful remembrance the name of C. W. Waddington.

But it is not only a pleasure to greet an old Oxford man under such happy auspices : it is a pleasure to visit a College with such fine traditions.

As a College you have had a short history, but the history of the Rajputs no less than that of Mahomedans and Mahrattas is of centuries and there is probably many a boy here, who, if he told of the deeds of his ancestors, could tell tales which would thrill the emotions and make the heart beat quicker. What a foundation on which to build !

A heritage of noble chivalry, a tradition of knightly courtesy, an inspiration for all time to come ! And do not two things follow on this ? First, that for you boys a standard has been set up to which you must aspire and below which you can only fall to the detriment of your good name. Secondly, that it is for your fathers to continue so to support this College that it shall be the nursing mother of still more famous Rajputchildren, who will be proud of their traditions and have learnt in this place all that the phrase " Noblesse oblige " connotes.

Holding these views, then, of what your College can mean, do you wonder that I say it is a very real pleasure for me to visit you this afternoon ?

But let me go on. With other times, other manners. While your forefathers rode rejoicing to the stricken field as to some joyous joust, your duty for the most part will lie in

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a more peaceful sphere. It is true that for us to-day the opportunity of soldierly service has come, and we have seen that Rajput Paladin, Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, go off to the war like one of his forebears, only asking that fate should grant him the joy of leading his men in a charge against the foe. There are others, too, from among the ranks of your old boys. The Maharaja of Bikaner responded to the call, but, on his return, both Lord Hardinge and I have thought that he could do more important service here in India. He will remember without doubt Milton's line

“They also serve who only stand and wait.”

The Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaja of Idar and the Rana of Barwani, to mention only a few, also placed their swords at the disposal of their Emperor. But we believe and hope that such service will be the exception and not the rule, and that when this war comes to an end, the task that will lie before each one of you will be the peaceful one of living in your own land and of looking after your own people.

But

“Peace hath her victories

“No less renowned than war,”

and let none of you think that the task of developing your country and making your people happy is one beneath you. Some of you will have great opportunities, some smaller, but to all of you alike comes the call of service. Lord Brougham, a Lord Chancellor of England, once said of the Duke of Wellington,

“That man would pick up spade and pick and use them if he thought he could best serve his country in that way.”

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And so with you, when you go out from this place, I hope you will place this ideal of "service" first among your ideals. After all, "Ich dien,"—I serve,—is the proud motto of our Prince of Wales.

And now I want to congratulate one who was lately one of yourselves. He comes of a great stock but he has regarded that fact rather as an incentive to work than as a justification for sloth. I refer to Maharaj-Kumar Himmat Singh of Idar. As you have heard he has achieved the best result obtained by any boy since the examination for the higher Diploma was started. I offer him my warmest congratulations and I shall watch—as I am sure we all shall—with the keenest interest his future career.

One more word and I have done. The scheme of your founder connotes very high ideals. Birth has given you much. The Mayo College has given you much. Now it is for you to repay your debt by service. It will not be necessary for you to look for opportunities, like knights of old, to go out and seek for some dragon to slay. Be sure the opportunity will come in the everyday discharge of your duties. There is a motto of one of your States,

"Yato Dharma Stato Jayah."

(Where virtue is, there also is victory.)

Show by your service that is as equally true to-day as in the ages of long ago, when it inspired your fathers of old.

OPENING OF NEW HIGH COURT AT ALLAHABAD.

27th Novem- [On his way to Burma the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady
ber 1916. Chelmsford and members of the Viceregal Staff, paid a brief visit to
Allahabad on Monday morning, the main object of the visit being the

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opening by His Excellency of the new buildings of the Allahabad High Court. The Viceroy's special train arrived under a salute of 31 guns at the railway station at 9 A.M. The arrival was private. Their Excellencies were received at the station by Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Richards, the Chief Justice, the Hon'ble Mr. Ferard, the Commissioner of the Division, and General Johnson, Commanding the Allahabad Brigade. The Viceregal party motored to Government House where His Highness the Nawab of Rampur was presented to Their Excellencies. After breakfast Their Excellencies drove in state to the High Court by way of Alfred Park, Thornhill Road and Hastings Road, their carriage being horsed by an artillery team. An escort was provided by the 2nd Lancers. The Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Meston motored to the High Court by a different route and were ready to receive Their Excellencies upon their arrival.

Their Excellencies' carriage entered the High Court grounds by the forecourt to the east of the building and stopped in front of the main porch. A guard of honour, consisting of 100 men of the Allahabad Volunteer Rifles with the band of the 113th Infantry, was mounted in the forecourt. When Their Excellencies alighted the guard gave the royal salute, the band played the National Anthem and an artillery salute of 31 guns was fired. The Viceroy inspected the guard of honour and meanwhile Lady Chelmsford, accompanied by Lady Meston, was escorted by the Commissioner, the Chief Secretary and Lieutenant-Colonel Austen-Smith, to her seat on a large dais in a shamiana erected on the lawns to the west of the building. The shamiana was a handsome one, semi-circular in shape and surrounding artistically arranged flower beds. The dais was beneath a fine canopy and in the shamiana was a large and representative assembly of ladies and gentlemen. In the centre of the dais was a handsome gold chair for the Viceroy and behind and on each side of it were in addition to that of Lady Chelmsford seats for the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Meston and the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court, for a few more ladies and members of the Viceregal Staff and for other distinguished guests. On the right of the dais were members of the Bar and Vakils' Association wearing wigs and gowns and on the left various representatives of the Public Works Department, who had been concerned

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in the erection of the new building. In other parts of the shamiana were further officials and non-officials.

The Viceroy having completed his inspection of the guard of honour of the Allahabad Volunteer Rifles entered the main porch of the building, where he was received by the Chief Justice and Puisne Judges. The Chief Justice presented the Puisne Judges to His Excellency and then asked the Viceroy to open the main door, presenting him with a gold key for the purpose. Immediately the door was opened the Viceroy proceeded into the central hall where a procession was formed as follows :—

Mr. Bourdillon, Registrar of the High Court, and Mr. Gordon,
A.-D.-C. to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Two A.-D.-C.'s to the Viceroy.

Mr. Maffey (Private Secretary to the Viceroy) and Lieutenant-
Colonel Verney (Military Secretary to the Viceroy).

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Chief Justice.

The Lieutenant-Governor and Justice Sir George Knox,
Justices Banarji and Tudball.

Justices Rafique and Pigott.

Justice Walsh.

Mr. Sale, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor.

The procession moved through the main hall to the western porch, outside which was a mounted guard of honour of the Manchester Regiment with the band of the Hampshire Regiment. When His Excellency emerged from the porch the guard of honour gave the royal salute and the band played the National Anthem. His Excellency inspected the guard of honour, the procession halting until he returned to the western porch. The procession then moved on to the dais where the Viceroy and other gentlemen forming the procession took their seats.

His Excellency having taken his seat the Chief Justice read the following address :—

May it please Your Excellency,—Fifty years have come and gone since it pleased Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria to exercise the power vested in her under Acts 24 and 25 Victoria, Chapter 104, to

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issue Letters Patent under the Royal Sign Manual establishing a High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William.

The Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and five Judges.

The jurisdiction allotted to it was :—

- (1) Extraordinary civil jurisdiction such as had hitherto been exercised by the Court known as the Sadar Dewani Adalat.
- (2) Such ordinary original criminal jurisdiction over persons within the North-Western Provinces as had till then been exercised by the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.
- (3) Extraordinary criminal jurisdiction such as had hitherto been exercised by the Court known as the Sadar Nizamat Adalat, together with certain Testamentary, Intestate and Matrimonial jurisdiction.

So far as can be ascertained, the High Court for the North-Western Provinces came silently into existence. There was no opening ceremony of any kind. The bare record, simple and unadorned, remains that on the sixteenth day of June, 1866, the Judges commenced their sittings at Agra. In 1869 they migrated to the buildings which had in the meantime been provided for them in Allahabad.

The Court can now point to fifty years of tried and approved work and claim that some celebration of this, their Jubilee year, is meet and proper. We deem ourselves especially fortunate and happy that Your Excellency is here to-day to place, we hope, the stamp of approval on what has been done in the past and to encourage us as we enter upon the future. Though the work of the Court was steadily extending, no increase in the number of Judges was made till the year 1908. On the contrary an attempt was made to grapple with the business by a Chief Justice and four Puisne Judges and for a year by a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges.

These experiments proved disastrous. Justice was delayed, arrears accumulated, and it was found impossible to exercise the duty of super-

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vision over the subordinate courts. After many representations of the difficulties and dangers by which the Judges were being embarrassed the Secretary of State, realising that the congestion of work constituted a grave reproach to the judicial administration of the province, sanctioned the appointment of a sixth Puisne Judge. Such is the constitution of the Court to-day.

In the year 1866 the number of civil appeals before the High Court was 3,112. In 1915 it had risen to 4,646. while a heavy increase in revisional work must also be taken into account. Criminal cases had likewise risen from 1,000 to 4,271. Needless to add as time went on cases were presented to the Court at greater length and investigated with more completeness. The number of subordinate courts has also risen from about 350 to 1,276. This in itself is enough to show how in this department as in others work has steadily risen.

It is not difficult to understand how, as the work of the Court increased, the provision made for the conduct and supervision of that work in 1866 grew more and more strait until in 1890 rooms which had been allotted to the advocates and vakils had to be resumed, and there have been several days in each year when Benches were without rooms in which they could be accommodated and cases had to be heard in chambers instead of in proper court rooms. From this pressure has arisen the need for the building near which we now find ourselves.

The buildings as now realised are the final outcome, the practical result of much consideration by the technical advisers both of the Government of India and of the United Provinces, of the Judges of the High Court, of representatives of the Bar, and last but by no means least of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. The general arrangement of the rooms is based upon a skeleton plan prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Gunnell Wood, C.S.I., late Chief Engineer to the Local Government. This plan was handed over to Mr. Lishman, Consulting Architect of these provinces, in order that the scheme might be developed on architectural lines. The foundation stone was laid in 1911 by Sir John Stanley, late Chief Justice, but actual construction was not commenced until March, 1914, and the greatest credit reflects upon the Executive Engineer, Rai Bahadur Hari Kishen Pant, and his staff and the contractors who have worked under him for the expeditious manner in

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which their duties and work have been carried out, the more so having regard to the manifold difficulties encountered and overcome in the exceptional circumstances attendant upon this period of war.

To have erected and completed buildings of this scale in less than 2½ years under the prevailing conditions is, we must all realise, no mean achievement. This was rendered possible not only by the skilful handling both of labour and materials but by the fact that, with few exceptions, all the labour and all the materials are of this country. To go through the complete list would detain you too long, but mention may be made of the fact that much of the iron work is the product of the Tata Steel Works in the Bombay Presidency. The excellent stone of which the building is constructed comes from the Sheorajpur quarries within 30 miles of Allahabad, and the beautiful marble of the central hall and staircase from Makrana in Rajputana. This Rajputana marble—the material of which the Taj Mahal is built—it may be confidently asserted, compares most favourably both in quality and colour with the marble exported from any other country.

The Courts consist of the Chief Justice's Court, a Sessions Court of equal size and proportions and four other Courts for the Puisne Judges with separate chambers to each; offices for the Registrar and Law Officers of the Crown; complete administration offices with ample record accommodation in connection with the various departments; convenient accessory buildings, and two wings affording the indispensable provision of suites of chambers for the members of the Bar and Pleaders' Association. The system of storing records forms an important part of the working of any High Court. The records here are accommodated in racks of a special design giving the maximum storage capacity with a minimum of inconvenience in handling. These again have been manufactured in this province at the Canal Foundry, Roorkee.

The disposition of the rooms has been so arranged as regards aspect that the Courts and principal apartments may obtain by the use of *tattees* the full cooling benefit of the west winds which prevail in the hottest months of the year in this part of India. In addition, by the

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mechanical injection of cool, moist, air and system of exhaust ventilation, it is confidently anticipated that a degree of comfort not previously thought possible may be attained. Also, the spacious central hall with its marble walls should prove a natural cooling agency to the corridors and rooms in connection with it.

In the course of your inspection this morning you will perhaps reflect, that those who are not happy unless they can label the edifice before them as following some recognised style will be afforded but little satisfaction by the study of this building externally. It is hard for a stranger, nay even for ourselves, to realise this morning the climatic conditions under which the Court's labours are carried on during a large portion of the year. The architect has had to keep perpetually in his mind the fact that these buildings are intended for the stern realities of work by the Bench, the Bar and a large official staff, under conditions for which there is no parallel elsewhere. It is hoped nevertheless that he has by a sympathetic appreciation of the ancient architecture of this country succeeded in importing into the work a certain indigenous feeling. By the generosity of two of the contractors, Rai Saheb Sarju Pershad and Khan Saheb Hafiz Nizam-ud-din, the marble fountain in the forecourt has been provided free of cost to Government. This fountain all will agree adds not a little to the beauty of the architectural composition as a whole.

Notwithstanding the exceptional conditions prevailing since the outbreak of the war, the total cost, Your Excellency may be interested to learn, not merely of the High Court building but of all accessory buildings and of the engineering works as well as the equipment and furnishing of the courts, has amounted to but little over 15½ lakhs. We deem ourselves happy in having this opportunity of placing on record the deep interest Sir James Meston has taken in the plans. We are indebted to him for most valuable and important suggestions and we gratefully admit that some serious errors might have been made but for his intervention. Our thanks are also due to the Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department, Mr. Walter Gunnell Wood, C.S.I., not only for bringing these buildings to early completion but also for other courts in the districts

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which from time to time he has planned and brought to perfection. He has been ably assisted by Mr. Frank Lishman, the Consulting Architect to Government, who has not confined his supervision to plans and estimates but has been at considerable pains to visit the sites where new buildings were required and to consider on the spot how the climatic difficulties, which are inseparable from work in the plains, could best be mitigated.

This Court is, as Your Excellency is aware, mainly a Court of Appeal reviewing the work of a large number of subordinate courts. It is not therefore out of place that we should, on the present occasion, acknowledge the valuable assistance we receive from the district courts. When the foundation is solid, to build upon it is easier, and when the courts below make, as in most cases they do, a thorough and searching enquiry into the issues before them, this Court is able to proceed with the maximum confidence and the minimum of delay to the final determination of the cause. In the year that has just passed by out of 2,081 appeals decided only 77 cases were remanded for further enquiry. This alone is no small testimony to the way in which those courts have done and are doing the work entrusted to them. It was with no small thankfulness that the Court, on reviewing the work of the year which brought the first fifty years to a close, found themselves able to say that they could congratulate the subordinate courts not only on their exceptionally high outturn but on a decrease in average duration and the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of success in appeal. But sustained efforts of this kind cannot be maintained without risk of the evils and undue strain which attend upon them: the Court has felt during the last five years and must again point out that the staff of subordinate judges is insufficient to cope with the work.

Your Excellency as a member of the English Bar, bearing a name of illustrious legal tradition, will readily appreciate the important position occupied by the learned gentlemen who assist the Judges in the administration of justice. They are in truth and in fact an integral part of the Court itself. As time does not permit of a separate address on their part, I am permitted to-day to associate the advocates and vakils of this High Court in my address of welcome.

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It remains only to thank Your Excellency for having shown your sympathy with us as we enter on our second period of fifty years. Your presence will nerve and strengthen us to continue our duty in administering the law without distinction of class, creed or race to the best of our ability.

The Viceroy replied to the address as follows:—]

I am particularly glad to have had this opportunity of being associated with the opening of your new Court to-day, but my pleasure is tempered with the regret that, on my first visit to such an important city as Allahabad, my time is so limited that I have had to confine myself to the special object of this day's ceremony.

Allahabad, as the capital of the Province, as the seat of an important University, has special claims and I should like to express the hope that on some future occasion not far distant I shall again be able to visit the city and make myself better acquainted with its institutions and its people.

To-day's ceremony cannot but be of interest to myself. I am, I believe, the first Viceroy who has been a member of the English Bar, and I am grateful to the Bar of Allahabad for having joined with the Bench in the address of welcome. Your Chief Justice has referred to the Bar as an integral part of the Court itself. This co-operation is in consonance with the highest traditions of the English Courts. Bench and Bar have a joint responsibility in the administration of justice, and one can augur from the harmony, which clearly prevails between the Bench and Bar in Allahabad, that the administration of justice here runs smoothly and well. Indeed it is pleasing for me to learn of the harmony which exists between the Bench in Allahabad and all branches of Government whether of equal or subordinate status.

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Your tribute to the assistance afforded to you by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor indicates the happy relations existing between the Bench and the Executive Government based on good-will and the mutual recognition of respective spheres of work.

Your generous tribute to the valuable assistance afforded to you by the subordinate Courts is evidence of a minimum of friction and delay in the disposal of justice, on which I would like to offer you my heartiest congratulations, for India has of late been subjected to severe criticism on the part of the highest judicial authorities at home for the dilatoriness of her judicial proceedings.

I turn now to the special object of our gathering to-day,—your new Court. I congratulate you most heartily on its completion, and I trust that you will find that it substantially alleviates the conditions under which you have to perform your work.

The efficient performance of your duties is a matter of supreme importance and of the greatest public concern, and I recognise the duty of the Government to insure, so far as lies within its power, that its Courts of Justice should be accommodated in buildings of a suitable character. You allude in your address to the climatic conditions under which the Court's labours are carried on during a large portion of the year. I have been now two years in this country and from personal experience I can appreciate the drawbacks to which you refer and am impressed by the very moderate terms in which you allude to them. But I cannot overlook the fact that there is one on your Bench who has served His Majesty the King-Emperor in India for a longer period than the life of

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the Allahabad High Court, and who has found the climate so congenial that during his period of service he has only been able to tear himself away from work for one day. I cannot help thinking that Sir George Knox, or his record, has exercised a moderating influence on this portion of your address.

It only remains for me to endorse what has been said with reference to the Executive Engineer, Rai Bahadur Hari Kishan Pant, his staff and the contractors who have worked under him. They have had exceptional difficulties to overcome and they certainly have claims on our gratitude for the expeditious manner in which they have carried through this undertaking.

I should also, from what I have seen, like to offer the Architect my felicitations. I understand that the design has already had the compliment of being borrowed in its entirety for the High Court at Bankipore. He has provided, so I learn, for its extension without sacrifice of symmetry or architectural unity, so that we have every reason to hope that it will provide for the judicial needs of the Province for many years to come.

I cannot conclude without adverting to the wonderful fact that here in the midst of a world-wide war, when Kingdoms and Empires are tottering, we in India are inaugurating the completion of a building in which Justice is to be administered, practically begun, built and completed during the great upheaval. Truly *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*.

If the British Empire stands for anything, it stands for Justice, and it is largely due to this conviction that India has felt ready and proud to throw in her lot with the rest of the Empire.

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[The procession was reformed and was joined by His Highness the Nawab of Rampur. As the Viceroy left the dais, the guard-of-honour of the Manchester Regiment gave the royal salute and the Hampshire Regiment's band played the National Anthem. The procession moved into the central hall of the High Court, being followed by Lady Chelmsford and Lady Meston escorted by Mr. Burn and Mr. Ferard. In the central hall the Chief Justice presented to Their Excellencies—Mr. Gunnell Wood, C.S.I., late Chief Engineer to the United Provinces; Mr. H. M. Willmott, the present Chief Engineer; Mr. Lishman, Consulting Architect; Mr. Hari Kishan Pant, Executive Engineer; and the three chief contractors concerned in the erection of the building.

The Chief Justice then took Their Excellencies for a tour round the building.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM RANGOON MUNICIPAL
COMMITTEE.

[The visit of Lord and Lady Chelmsford to Burma opened auspiciously. Their Excellencies made a public arrival in Rangoon on the 1st December. They were accompanied by the Hon'ble Anne Thesiger and His Excellency's staff, consisting of Mr. J. L. Maffey, Private Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel R. Verney, Military Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Austen-Smith, Surgeon, Captain W. A. Brown, Captain W. Holland Hibbert and Captain R. S. Sheepshanks, A.-D.-C.'s

1st Decem-
ber 1916.

The day was a public holiday and the streets were thronged with a heterogeneous crowd.

The most striking feature of the ceremonial arrangements was the use of the two royal silver thrones and other insignia of vicerealty brought, for the first time, across the Bay of Bengal with a retinue of the Foreign and Political Department. One of the thrones was used by King George V at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1911 and on other ceremonial occasions during the tour of His Majesty in India. The other was used by Queen Mary. In keeping with them are three magnificent carpets of heavy gold thread work on rich velvet.

Address of Welcome from Rangoon Municipal Committee.

On landing at the special pontoon a salute of guns was fired by the Port Defence Volunteers. His Excellency was met by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. W. F. Rice, Chief Secretary, Sir Charles Fox, Chief Judge, the Hon'ble Judges of the Chief Court, the Bishop of Rangoon, Major-General Young, Commanding in Burma, and the heads of various public bodies. His Excellency inspected a guard-of-honour of 100 men of the 2nd Regiment, 123rd Outram's Rifles, and then with Lady Chelmsford was conducted through the brilliantly decorated pontoon pathway to the dais in the reception pandal.

On behalf of the citizens of Rangoon the following address was read by Mr. W. L. Cabell, I.C.S., President of the Reception Committee :—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the citizens of Rangoon of every nationality, we, the Municipal Commissioners of Rangoon, beg to offer to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a very hearty welcome.

We express our gratification that Your Excellency should have selected the Province of Burma as the first recipient of your official visit and at such an early period in Your Excellency's term of office.

We know that the successful prosecution of the war very fully occupies the counsels and resources of the Imperial Government at the present time and we therefore refrain from importuning Your Excellency with a statement of our local requirements. We feel fully assured that Your Excellency's close association with municipal government in the capital of this Empire will ensure our receiving a sympathetic hearing when times are more favourable.

We express our loyalty and devotion to Your Excellency as the chosen representative of our beloved King-Emperor. In no city throughout the Empire is the spirit of loyalty more strongly felt than in Rangoon.

We hope that Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford will thoroughly enjoy your visit to this province and will carry away with you the pleasantest recollection of its people.

Address of Welcome from Rangoon Municipal Committee.

The address was handed to His Excellency in a handsome silver casket.

The Viceroy in reply said :—]

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Rangoon Municipal Committee,—I thank you heartily on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself for the friendly welcome you accord to us on setting foot in your city. It has long been my ambition to visit Burma and I regard myself as singularly fortunate in being able to gratify that desire so early in my term of office. The preoccupations created by the war debarred my predecessor from enjoying this experience, but he was not forgetful of Burma and asked me to pay you a visit at the earliest opportunity. These preoccupations still exist, but I hope that during the last six months we have, as the Government of India, been able to make sufficient headway with them to justify my paying you this fleeting visit.

In the presence of large issues you have thought it fitting to refrain from pressing your local requirements upon my notice and I fully appreciate the patriotic spirit which has prompted that decision. This is indeed a time in which every personal and every local interest should be subordinated to the completion of the heavy task in which the Empire is engaged. I have had occasion more than once to refer to the noble efforts which India has made. The war has not yet been brought to a triumphant conclusion and we must not yet take off our armour. Our business is to finish this war and India will have, in common with the rest of the Empire, to make further efforts and greater sacrifices. I feel confident that she will respond.

Address of Welcome from Rangoon Municipal Committee.

You refer to my association with municipal government. Gentlemen, may I say that in the light of such municipal experience as has come my way I envy you your opportunity. I have been, in the main, associated with cities where too little foresight has been exercised in the past with regard to future requirements and where the main problem was to rectify the disastrous consequences of past short-sightedness. Here, in Rangoon, rapid and extensive as has been your growth, you can still build for the future without vainly regretting the past, and the interesting report of your suburban Development Committee has shown me that you are alive to your responsibilities. As the report indicates, the development of the suburbs of large cities on reasoned lines is a modern idea. This is true and we are constantly finding reasons to regret that the expediency of this policy was not discovered a century ago. You have still time to rise to the height of your civic opportunity. I feel sure that you will do so and wish you good luck in your endeavours.

Gentlemen, I thank you again most warmly for your kind welcome and good wishes.

A beautiful album enclosed in a carved wooden box and containing 38 principal views of Burma was presented to Lady Chelmsford.

The gathering of 14,000 persons in the pandal was a most picturesque spectacle. An assemblage of Shan Chiefs and other notables in gorgeous apparel and glittering with jewels and other ornaments lent a brilliant dash of colour to the scene.

Their Excellencies drove, amidst cheers, to Government House, accompanied by an escort of the Rangoon Volunteer Rifles and the Lieutenant-Governor's escort. At some of the pandals addresses of welcome were presented to His Excellency.]

ADDRESS FROM PORT COMMISSIONERS OF RANGOON.

[On the morning of the 2nd the Viceroy received an address at the Keighley Street jetty from the Rangoon Port Commissioners. Mr. J. Llewelyn Holmes, Chairman of the Port Commissioners, and the Commissioners were all presented to His Excellency. The Chairman read the following address:—

2nd Decem-
ber 1916.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Commissioners for the Port of Rangoon, respectfully tender to Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford our hearty welcome to Burma, and express our confidence that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to extend the same sympathetic treatment to the affairs of this port as have your predecessors in the past.

When Lord Curzon visited Burma as Viceroy in 1901 a new era in the history of the port had just dawned. Plans were under preparation for extending the wharves and jetties and for increasing the facilities for handling trade. The completion of this project synchronised with the visit in 1907 of Lord Minto, who graciously associated himself with an epoch in the history of the port by inaugurating the extensions and improvements then made.

We take pride in the fact that since that date further improvements have been made in the port. Of these the most important is the successful completion of the training wall in the upper reaches of the river at a cost of 135 lakhs of rupees. For the inception and successful completion of this work we are indebted to the skill and ability of our Chairman, Sir George Buchanan. It is not our intention to relax our efforts to improve the Port of Rangoon. There are under consideration several schemes, the most important of which are for the improvement of the channel at the entrance of the harbour and the extension of wharf accommodation.

Such projects are justified by the steady growth of the trade of the port. Between the years 1900 and 1914 the amount of tonnage entering the port increased by 87 per cent. and the value of imports and exports by 77 per cent. and 88 per cent. respectively.

We are proud to think that the Port Trust is playing its part in the war. Besides our Chairman, Secretary, Traffic Manager, and

Address from Port Commissioners of Rangoon.

Deputy Conservator, there are 15 European, 17 Anglo-Indian and 98 Indian members of the Port Trust staff on service either with the Navy or with the Army.

We respectfully venture to express the hope that Your Excellencies' tour in Burma may be an enjoyable one and that you may carry away pleasant recollections of your visit to this province.

The Chairman, enclosing the address in a casket, made it over to His Excellency. The casket took the form of a silver antique Burmese paddy boat, mounted on rosewood. On the front were His Excellency's coat-of-arms, on the back the Port Commissioners' seal.

The Viceroy in reply said :—]

Gentlemen,—I acknowledge with much pleasure the cordiality of the welcome which you have extended to me and Lady Chelmsford on our arrival at the Port of Rangoon. I recognise the success which has attended the efforts of the Commissioners of this port to meet the present and anticipate the future needs of the great and rapidly growing country which it serves. I am well aware of the skill and enterprise with which your Chairman, Sir George Buchanan, designed and carried through the scheme which has successfully overcome the difficulties with which the development of your port was faced, difficulties of a nature almost unprecedented in the history of harbour improvement. He is now, as you have stated, serving the Empire in a wider sphere and, I hope, with great success, and this, along with the fact that so large a number of your community are serving with His Majesty's naval or military forces, must be very gratifying to you.

Gentlemen, once more I thank you on behalf of myself and Lady Chelmsford for your welcome.

ADDRESS FROM BURMA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

[His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation from the Burma Chamber at Government House on the 2nd December, when the Hon'ble Mr. W. MacDonald, Chairman, read the following address :—

2nd Decem-
ber 1916.

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Burma Chamber of Commerce we desire to offer Your Excellency a warm welcome to the province on this the occasion of your first visit to Burma.

It is a source of pleasure and satisfaction to the members of the various communities in the province that Your Excellency has selected Burma for your first extended tour. A personal acquaintance with this province will, we are sure, convince Your Excellency that its development is worthy of every possible encouragement.

' We desire to take the opportunity of drawing Your Excellency's attention to certain disabilities under which the province labours. Where reforms involve considerable expenditure we do not, of course, expect to see them introduced while a great war is being waged.

We desire to point out that, although a High Court has been sanctioned for the Punjab and is actually in existence in the recently created Province of Behar and Orissa, Burma's claim in this respect has not been granted in spite of its great commercial importance. We would urge that there should be established in Burma as soon as peace is declared a High Court which will be the Supreme Court of the whole province both for Upper Burma and Lower Burma.

The need for improvement of the communications of the province has long been recognised. The Government of India has recently made an annual grant in-aid of 15 lakhs to Burma. Welcome as is this assistance it is wholly inadequate to meet even the most urgent demands, so much so that the Local Government has been compelled to divert the greater part of the grant to purposes other than communications. This matter has received the special attention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, who has appointed a Board of Communications, on which all interests are represented, and it is hoped that the Board will evolve a complete system of communications for the province. Under the present provincial settlement, however, it is clear that the province will be quite unable to undertake any large scheme of road

Address from Burma Chamber of Commerce.

construction, and no real progress can be made unless the Government of India treats Burma with greater generosity than hitherto.

We would specially invite Your Excellency's attention to the Southern Shan States Railway. The construction of the line, roughly 104 miles, was sanctioned to Yawngphwe, but work was stopped when 70 miles had been completed. Later, it was decided to continue the line to the edge of the Plateau at Heho, but the war intervened. We would respectfully urge that the line be continued at the earliest possible opportunity, if not to its sanctioned terminus, at least to some point in the Lake plain, a rich region, the development of which was the prime motive of Government in securing sanction for construction.

The question of alien trading after the war is one which interests this province more greatly perhaps than any other part of India, and it is hoped therefore that the Burma Chamber of Commerce and other bodies may be given an opportunity of placing their views before the Government of India.

We desire to call Your Excellency's attention to a letter which was addressed by this Chamber to the Government of Burma on the seventh day of December 1914 on the subject of Volunteers in India, which we believe was despatched to the Government of India. Since that date, the views of the members of this Chamber that volunteering should be put on a business-like footing throughout India have been confirmed by further experience, and we would suggest that the time has come when the Government of India should take powers to ensure that every man of military age should take up some share of the burden which is at the present moment being borne by only a certain number of men, thereby releasing trained troops for more active duties.

We conclude by expressing the hope that this visit may be pleasant to Your Excellency and to Lady Chelmsford, and that you will carry away not only happy impressions of Burma and its people, but also an assurance of the loyalty of all classes to His Majesty the King-Emperor and our unshaken confidence in the final result of the war.

Address from Burma Chamber of Commerce.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—Before proceeding to deal with the concrete questions raised in your address I must thank you warmly on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself for the kindly welcome which you have extended to us and for your good wishes for the success of our tour in Burma.

It is widely recognised that the commercial interests of Burma represent possibilities still not half developed, scarcely, perhaps, even half realised, which are among the greatest assets of the British Empire and it is a misfortune which you share with many other portions of our Empire that this great war has intervened at a moment when your prospects were bright, and your chances of rapid expansion favourable. You may, however, derive comfort from the reflection that, though your development may have been delayed, your province has not been laid waste. The British navy has stood between you and the horrors of actual warfare and, thanks to that trusty shield, you have even enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity. Let me sound a note of warning before I proceed further. I have not come to Burma to make promises. It would be rash, indeed, for me to do so when my knowledge of your country and your problems is still elementary and when the vast liabilities, financial and otherwise, to which we are committed by the war are still undetermined. I have come to Burma as a learner to find out something of your country, something of your difficulties and aspirations. I deem myself fortunate in having been able to come to Burma so soon after my assumption of office and I trust that in the course

Address from Burma Chamber of Commerce.

of my brief visit I shall gain a sufficient experience to ensure my personal sympathy and interest when problems from this province come before the Government of India.

Among those which you now bring to my notice is a matter in regard to which your Chamber has made forcible representations on previous occasions. I refer to the suggested establishment of a High Court in Burma in regard to which your ambitions are no doubt the more keen since the announcement was made that the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab is to be enhanced after the conclusion of the war. It is a subject on which I understand Sir Harcourt Butler has decided views and I shall take an early opportunity of discussing it with him. But, as the question involves financial considerations and all items of expenditure in these times have to be carefully scrutinised, I can do no more than promise that I shall not lose sight of your request.

You have represented the need of your province for improved communications and your fears that the provincial Government will be unable to satisfy it from the resources at present at its disposal. The Government of India are fully aware of the importance of this problem and you will, I am sure, admit that in the years immediately preceding the war they did much to enable the Local Government to deal with it—between 1911 and 1914 Rs. 65 lakhs were handed over to the province for expenditure on public works of which Rs. 50 lakhs were especially appropriated to the improvement of roads, and not only were the general finances of the province strengthened by the addition of a yearly grant of over Rs. 15 lakhs, but a guarantee was given of a minimum aggregate revenue advancing by Rs. 8 lakhs a year from 1911-12 until

Address from Burma Chamber of Commerce.

1923-24. It is true that we have had to keep this guarantee in abeyance during the period of the war, but when it is revived the total guaranteed revenue will be fixed at the amount which would have been attained had the guarantee been continuously in operation. It cannot, therefore, I think be contended that the Government of India has been illiberal to Burma. You will recognise, moreover, that after the war we shall have many competing claims on our resources and that, in the circumstances, it is not possible for me to hold out at present any hope of a further grant to the province from the Imperial revenues, to be earmarked for the construction of roads.

In regard to the Southern Shan States Railway the Government of India are well aware of the importance of its extension to more suitable terminus than Aungban. The question was fully investigated by the Railway Board last year with the result that it was decided that an extension as far as Heho is immediately desirable, but that the question of a further extension must be left for consideration until experience has been gained on opening the Aungban-Heho section. The Government are, therefore, about to address the Secretary of State with a view to obtaining his approval in principle to the construction of the Aungban-Heho section when funds and material again become available for new construction under the railway programme.

You have expressed a desire to be consulted with regard to questions of trade policy to be adopted after the war. We have, as the Government of India, been considering this matter for some time and I may inform you that I have invited the views of the Local Governments and, through them, of commercial bodies on the very important and difficult subjects

Address from Burma Chamber of Commerce.

that will demand attention. The reference to Local Governments has already gone out and I trust that there will be as little delay as possible on the part of your Local Government in putting it before your Chamber. I need not say that the matter is one in which the Government of India are deeply concerned and that they will await with interest an expression of your views.

The question to which you refer of putting volunteering in India on a business-like footing and of ensuring "that every man of military age should take up some share of the burden which is at the present moment being borne by only a certain number of men, thereby releasing trained troops for more active duties," has been engaging my earnest attention for some time past. We recognise that it is the duty of Government to release all the available troops for military service on the decisive fronts and if His Majesty's Government invite us to provide further troops we shall be ready to do so. We are confident that in such circumstances whatever action we may find it necessary to take with regard to the present volunteer system we shall have the ready assent and support of the community at large.

In conclusion let me thank you for bringing these various matters to my notice. I regard it as of the very greatest importance that there should be the closest co-operation between the official and non-official classes under the Government of India and, for myself, I can assure you that I am always grateful for suggestions which may conduce to the better governance of the Empire of India from whatever quarter they may come.

DEPUTATION AND ADDRESS FROM THE BURMA WAR FUND.

[A deputation in connection with the Burma War Fund was received by the Viceroy in the afternoon of the 2nd December at Government House, Rangoon. In asking His Excellency to accept the sum of Rs. 26 lakhs received up to the present as a first instalment of the Burma War Fund, Sir Charles Fox explained how the fund had been started in August last as a result of meetings which decided that voluntary contributions be made to the British Government towards its war expenses in token of the appreciation and gratitude of the people of Burma for the protection they owed to the fighting forces of the Empire. 2nd December 1916.]

After Sir Charles Fox's remarks Mr. C. Curtiss, Honorary Secretary, presented to His Excellency a note which showed that of the total amount collected so far the sum of Rs. 4,720 had been specially subscribed for Red Cross purposes and Rs. 7,170 for the Officers' Families Fund, and said it seemed to have been the hope in some districts in view of the mandate in the Buddhist scriptures regarding the taking of life that the bulk if not all of the total subscribed should be devoted to charitable purposes.

His Excellency in reply said :—]

Gentlemen,—I am deeply gratified that my arrival in Burma should be coincident with this definite stage in your patriotic labours, and that I to-day can receive in person on behalf of the British Government this instalment of the Burma War Fund. The sacrifices which the British Empire has had to make in this war are indeed already heavy, but further sacrifices remain to be made before the war can be carried through to the satisfactory conclusion which our Empire demands. The spirit which inspired you to initiate this scheme, the wide area and different classes from which subscriptions have been raised, and finally the considerable sum which has been collected are sufficient evidence that whatever demands the future may have in store Burma will be ready to play her part. I congratulate you on the great

Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Rangoon. Opening of—

results achieved by your public spirit. In conveying this gift to the British Government, I shall, you may rest assured, take steps to secure that the money is devoted to objects such as you specify, which are in consonance with the ideals of the Buddhist faith. In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me say that it will give me great pleasure in forwarding your gift to communicate your message of loyalty to the King-Emperor.

ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION, RANGOON. OPENING OF—

4th Decem- [The Arts and Crafts Exhibition was opened at noon by the Viceroy
ber 1916. who was met by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Hon'ble Mr. Macdonald, the Acting President of the Exhibition.

His Excellency in declaring the exhibition open said :—]

Yesterday I had an opportunity of visiting this exhibition and, though I spent a comparatively long time in examining the exhibits, it was all too short, so full of interest and charm did I find it. I suppose a travelling Viceroy is expected to praise, but I hope you will not regard me as following merely the beaten track ordained by custom when I express the very real delight I experienced in what I saw. You have a tradition of art in this country : hold fast to it : do not yield to the commercial temptation offered you by the indiscriminating purchasing public : patronage will certainly come to you, but to win it you must be loyal to your national genius. I am interested to find that you have no art school, as we know it

Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Rangoon. Opening of—

in England, spelt with a capital A and S. Let me implore you not to establish such a school, for you have still among you artist craftsmen trained by craftsmen who have brought down this torch of your national art from the dim past. No art school can take the place of such masters. Cherish them and encourage them and be sure that then you will preserve your national art, uncontaminated by alien influence.

There are other sides to this exhibition which have a purely commercial aspect, but which impress the newcomer with the potentialities of this province. It is difficult, I suppose, to place any bounds on the possibilities of your forests. The Government exhibit merely hints at them. Reserved forests of 28,000 square miles indicate a reserve of possible revenue which augurs well for the future. Your oil, agricultural and mineral exhibits tell the same tale of promise. But for those of us who visit your exhibition I suppose the chief items of interest on the commercial side will be the village industries at work. Here I would suggest our policy should be, when they partake of the native genius of the country, to foster them and give them every encouragement; where they compete precariously with modern industries, strive to lead them gently into up-to-date methods. Before I conclude I should like to pay a tribute to the work of the committee and to the zeal and evident ability of Mr. Morris, the Secretary of the Exhibition, and to express my pleasure that your Chamber of Commerce are taking such a keen interest in it. I have now much pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open.

ADDRESS FROM THE MANDALAY MUNICIPALITY.

6th Decem- The Viceroy arrived at Mandalay on 6th December. He had
ber 1916. a splendid reception, first in a beautiful pandal built in the manner
of those used in the Burmese royal receptions, where he heard the
Municipality's address of welcome, and then along the gaily deco-
rated route, where halts were made at four pandals and addresses
of welcome and bouquets were presented. Just inside the Fort
nearly 8,000 school children welcomed Their Excellencies and
presented bouquets to Lord and Lady Chelmsford and the Hon. Anne
Thesiger. The children who presented the bouquets were beautifully
dressed in Burmese court costume. This was the first time school
children had taken part in welcoming a Viceroy and it was the
brightest incident in a series of bright happenings. Lady Chelms-
ford asked that her thanks be conveyed to Mandalay and its
schools.

The reception pandal was the brightest Mandalay has seen and
was crowded with officers, ladies and the leading citizens of all the
communities. There were also present some thirty Shan Chiefs in
national costume.

The address was as follows:—]

May it please Your Lordship,—We, the President and members of
the Mandalay Municipal Committee, as the elected representatives of
the different races and communities in our town, humbly beg to welcome
Your Lordship and Lady Chelmsford to this the Capital of Upper
Burma.

It is more than nine years since a Viceroy has honoured us with his
presence, and may we venture to add that we peculiarly appreciate Your
Excellency's special departure in making yourself so promptly acquaint-
ed with the largest but most remote of the provinces committed to
your charge.

Unlike other Viceroys, Your Excellency is visiting us during the
course of a world-wide war, and we beg to assure Your Excellency of

Address from Mandalay Municipality.

our gratitude for the protection afforded to us by His Majesty's forces by land and sea, and to express our unswerving loyalty to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, whom may God preserve.

It is but thirty-one years since the annexation of the Upper Province, and Mandalay, unlike Rangoon, is not a growing town with an increasing population, or a great trading or industrial centre, so that we cannot look forward to an expanding revenue. Yet in the years since 1885 in our capacity as a Municipality we may fairly claim to have made substantial progress in the promotion of the health, comfort, and well-being of the inhabitants of this town.

Our large market, the Zegyo, now completed, may claim to be the finest of its kind in the East. Our hospital has a large and increasing sphere of usefulness, not only for the people of Mandalay, but for the inhabitants of the whole of the Upper Province, and over 30,000 persons are treated annually at the institution. A system of conservancy has been introduced, and a large mileage of metalled roads is maintained. Further it has long been proposed to obtain an adequate supply of pure water for the town, most of whose inhabitants, as in Burmese times, are dependent on the moat or shallow wells for their drinking supply, and a scheme for distributing artesian well water throughout the town is now in progress, and we hope to receive liberal assistance from Government towards its completion, so that cholera epidemics may soon become a thing of the past. It is also proposed to establish a permanent technical institute for Upper Burma in Mandalay. From these activities of ours Your Excellency will realise that we are striving in every way for the welfare of our town and its inhabitants.

We thank Your Excellency for this opportunity of addressing you, and we hope that Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford will carry away pleasant memories of our city with its picturesque monuments and visible emblems of the past civilisation of the province.

In conclusion we trust that Your Excellencies will appreciate our humble efforts to give you a fitting welcome, and we wish you long life, health, and all happiness.

Address from Mandalay Municipality.

The Viceroy in reply to the address said :—]

Mr. President and Members of the Mandalay Municipal Committee,—The kind and hospitable terms in which you have welcomed Lady Chelmsford and myself to your city have given us both great pleasure. My acquaintance with Mandalay began only this morning, but from the little I have already seen and from the address to which I have just listened I feel sure that the nine years which have passed since Mandalay was last visited by His Majesty's representative in India have been a period of steady and effective progress in municipal administration. You have referred particularly to your market and your hospital and to your proposals for an improved water-supply and a technical institute. The two first represent notable achievements in the direction of improving public health, on which I heartily congratulate you. The two latter are ideals which, if fulfilled, will do much towards assuring the good health and the proper education of your citizens in the future.

I understand that the Local Government has always treated with consideration applications from the Mandalay Municipality for financial assistance towards sanitary improvements, and there is no reason to think that they will be less generous to your request for help in the construction of a modern water-supply system. You will understand that in these times Government expenditure upon objects

Durbar at Mandalay.

not directly connected with the prosecution of the war must be greatly restricted and it is not possible to give any assurance before the scheme is ripe for action that assistance to the extent requested will be forthcoming, but I gather that so far as can be foreseen the Local Government hope to be able to meet the wishes of the Municipality in this matter.

Although His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has already discussed with Mr. Saunders a draft scheme to establish a permanent technical institute for Upper Burma in Mandalay it is not possible to proceed any further with the scheme at present. As you are all aware, a commission is at present visiting the principal industrial centres in India and will shortly visit Burma in order to examine and report on the many problems in the development of technical instruction and until their report is produced no definite policy as regards the establishment of new institutes can be laid down.

I hope during the next two days to become acquainted with the improvements which you have effected in this city and also to see the picturesque monuments of the past to which you have alluded. As a city you have found a place in literature and I look forward to finding your attractions even greater than portrayed in song and story.

DURBAR AT MANDALAY.

His Excellency the Viceroy during his stay in Mandalay attended 6th Decem-
a durbar which was held in the east throne-room of the palace. His ber 1916.

Durbar at Mandalay.

Excellency received the chiefs and a number of Burmese gentlemen and conferred titles and honours on fifty-five gentlemen, including the K.C.I.E. on the Sawbwa of Yaungphwe, the C.S.I. on Colonel Cox, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Burma Division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Aplin, Commissioner, Mandalay, the C.I.E. on Mr. Hunter, Principal, Rangoon College, Mr. H. A. Thornton, Superintendent, Northern Shan States. Two I.S.O.'s, five King's Police Medals, one bar to the Police Medal, several Burmese honours and Indian titles, seven Indian Orders of Merit, seven Indian Distinguished Service Medals, five Swords of Honour and one Certificate of Honour were presented.

The splendid throne-room was crowded with civil and military officials from Upper Burma and those present included members of the *ex-royal* family. The Shan chiefs attended, resplendent in gold cloth or gold lace, all of whom came in state and four in ceremonial procession. They arrived under salutes of guns.

After the conferring of honours and titles the Southern and Northern Shan chiefs, twenty-four of the former and six of the latter, were presented to His Excellency by Mr. G. C. B. Stirling, Superintendent, Southern Shan States, and Mr. Thornton, Superintendent of the Northern States. After the presentations His Excellency addressed the gathering as follows:—

You have made it very easy for me to address you to-day. Your unbroken record of peace and prosperity during the war speaks eloquently for the loyalty and stability of your province. Burma is not only blessed with a bountiful fertility which practically secures it from famine and scarcity, but is fortunate also in a rich store of mineral wealth of which the full possibilities are as yet unrealised and, though there has naturally been some disturbance of trade conditions, and though Government has been hampered in all directions by the necessity of husbanding its financial resources, I think I may say with confidence that no province in the

Durbar at Mandalay.

great Indian Empire has come through this time of difficulty more easily or buoyantly than Burma.

Turning from material conditions I must congratulate the people of Burma most heartily on the admirable spirit which they have displayed throughout the war. It is true that there was some unrest two years ago among the Kachins to the north of Myitkyina, but this was easily quelled, and, later, sedition of alien growth endeavoured to lift its head in the province, but I am proud to say it failed to attract even one Burmese recruit. The loyal spirit has manifested itself in more positive forms. The Government have had many offers of personal service and it is a source of regret to me that, owing to language and other difficulties, it has not been practicable to accept them. Recently, however, the Government of India have sanctioned the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal to enlist a company of Burmans in the military police, and I am gratified to learn that recruitment has been prompt and eager. I cannot mention the military police without paying testimony to the service which they have rendered, and are rendering, to the Empire in supplying trained recruits for the Indian Army. Up to date more than five thousand have gone out of a strength of something over fifteen thousand and more are ready to go when their opportunity arrives. The record of the Burma Military Police has gained fresh lustre and prestige from the efforts of those who have fought and the noble sacrifice of those who have given their lives in the King-Emperor's service.

The privilege of taking an active part in the war is now shared by the Burmese company of the Queen Victoria's Own Sappers and Miners which recently left for the front. Lastly, in further earnest of the desire of Government to

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associate the people of Burma in the work of the war, I am glad to say that arrangements have been made to recruit a company of Burmans for the Pioneers and I feel confident that this experiment will be crowned with success. Lack of time precludes me from mentioning the numerous other ways in which Burma has identified herself with the cause of the Empire, but I desire specially to acknowledge the admirable work which has been done by women all over Burma to provide comforts for the troops and to relieve the sufferings of the wounded, and the magnificent response made to the appeals of the various funds on the charity of the people culminating with the last special effort of the Burma War Fund which, in less than three months, has reached a total of 26 lakhs of rupees. I have conveyed this gift to the British Government and have received the following message by cable from the Secretary of State: "I have great pleasure in conveying to you for transmission to the subscribers to the Burma War Fund a cordial message of thanks from His Majesty's Government and an expression of their great appreciation of the public spirit of the province. I have also submitted the message contained in your telegram to the King-Emperor and I am commanded by His Majesty to express his gracious thanks to the subscribers for their loyal devotion and open-handed generosity."

It is not infrequently said that Burma, as the youngest and most distant province of the Indian Empire, does not gain its due share of the attention of the Government of India which is absorbed by the demands of the older and nearer provinces. It has to be remembered, however, that Burma has spared us many anxieties arising from famine and unrest, from which other provinces have suffered, but I assure

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you that I am deeply interested in the requirements of this great and growing country and that my visit will give me a quickened and more personal sympathy and consideration for her aspirations.

It is impossible for me to-day to dwell on all the various aspects of your life but I will touch on two or three important subjects which have especially attracted my attention. Burma is still primarily a land of agriculture and the problems connected with agriculture and co-operation are amongst the most vital which confront us. The co-operative credit movement has a short history in Burma but it already exhibits a remarkable record of successful advance. Ten years ago there were twenty-one societies with less than fourteen hundred members, where now there are more than two thousand two hundred and fifty societies with over fifty-one thousand members. Ten years ago the societies worked with a capital of less than twenty-four lakhs; now they have a capital of nearly a hundred and seven. This marvellous growth has occurred in spite of the strict pursuance of what I believe to be the sound policy of aiming at a high standard of efficiency rather than a multiplication of societies; in other words a policy of quality, rather than of quantity. A feature of the co-operative system in your province has been the system of grouping societies under unions and in this I understand you have shown yourselves pioneers. Insurance societies were first started in this province in 1911 and, though they are still in the experimental stage, I shall be disappointed if the many good results which they promise fail of fruition. The principles of co-operative action have received further practical application in colonisation schemes. Among them I may mention the Mon and Kadonbaw areas.

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I understand that the success of the system has already been established in the former case and the Local Government have asked for, and obtained sanction to, the inclusion in the budget for next year of provision for further similar schemes. A conspicuous part in the rise of co-operation in Burma has been played by the Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank. Its prosperous career is evidenced by the facts that at an early date it dispensed with Government contributions, that it weathered the difficult period following the outbreak of war with financial assistance from Government, and it has recently I understand been able to reduce the rates of interest which it offers to fixed depositors. I am confident that the co-operative credit movement, if wisely directed, holds almost unlimited possibilities of good, both directly in respect of material benefits and indirectly by arousing the civil and public spirit and spreading enlightened ideas of corporate responsibility among the people. It is evident that co-operation has taken strong root in Burma and on that I congratulate both the people who will reap the benefit and Mr. English, who for the last ten years has been identified with, and has done so much to foster, the movement.

The Agricultural Department, which, I am glad to learn, maintains close relations with the co-operative movement, is still in its infancy in Burma but its work is fast developing. I attach special importance to the establishment of experimental and demonstration farms, and I am glad to know that the department has made a beginning in this direction and is experimenting on the improvement of the staple crops of the province. Those of you who are familiar with the wonderful results achieved by the late Mr. Farrar in the improvement of wheat in Australia will realise the great

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possibility in this field of experiment. I may add that the Government of India have had the expansion of this department under their consideration and have addressed the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

I turn now to the question of irrigation and I must congratulate you on the singularly rapid strides which you have made in this department of activity since 1902, when the Mandalay Canal was opened. The area irrigated by major canal works in Upper Burma has increased from a little over seven thousand to just under two hundred and seventy thousand acres. An important work is in the course of construction in the Shwebo district which will be completed, I hope, within the next two years, and other large projects are under consideration. These do not include the minor irrigation works, mostly in Upper Burma, which Government has steadily striven to improve, or the important embankment and other works which have been carried out in Lower Burma with almost inestimable benefits to agriculturists. Next to the development of the natural resources of the country stands the question of communications. We have, as a race, prided ourselves, to use Kipling's words, in "driving the road and bridging the ford." Burma, however, is, it must be admitted, woefully deficient in roads, and though many parts of the province have been generously provided by nature with communications the construction both of main and feeder roads has a primary claim on the consideration of Government as an effective means of quickening the development of the country. You are all no doubt aware of the measures which Sir Harcourt Butler has taken to have this question thoroughly examined, to prepare a definite programme of construction, while, the Government of India

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for their part, as you will have seen from my reply to the Burma Chamber of Commerce, have taken such steps as lay within their power to place the Local Government in a financial position to initiate its programme and carry it through systematically when normal conditions are restored after the war. I trust that these measures will enable substantial progress to be made in the near future with a class of schemes which is closely bound up with the well-being of the whole province. The question of railway communication is profoundly affected by the conditions resulting from the war, inasmuch as both money and officers are lacking for the numerous projects under consideration. As regards internal communication I trust that the Imperial Government will agree to the proposal which will shortly be placed before them to extend the Southern Shan States Railway to Heho when funds can be provided. A detailed survey of the proposed railway from Pyinmana to Magwe will be carried through as soon as officers can be made available. This project is of importance both in itself and as forming a link in the line which may possibly be constructed in the future to give Burma railway communication with India. The proposals regarding the through railway involve, however, many questions of great difficulty and importance and I cannot promise any decision until further investigations have been carried out and the whole question has been carefully examined in all its bearings. In the meantime a detailed survey will be made of the portion between Akyab and Chittagong when suitable officers can be provided. I can assure you that I consider the linking up of Burma and India as of great importance and that the proposal for a through railway will take a high place among our new railway projects when the war comes to an end. I would, however, invite the attention of the people in Burma to the possibilities

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of constructing minor lines by private enterprise. In some parts of India this system has been adopted with profit both to the people and to the promoters and a beginning has been made in Burma with the Buthidaung-Maungdaw Railway, now under construction in Akyab.

The subject of education is too wide for me to do more to-day than mention one or two aspects in which I am specially interested. The proposed Burma University has been long under consideration and I hope that a final settlement will soon be reached, enabling the province to realise a cherished aspiration. In considering education in Burma my attention has inevitably been attracted by the system which has made the Burmese by far the most literate race in the Indian Empire. I refer to the monastery schools in which, of old, the learning of letters went side by side with religious instruction and which, in spite of certain faults, represented an agency which we find it hard to replace. I am glad, therefore, to observe that the Lieutenant-Governor is in favour of fostering and improving these schools in every way possible. Like Lord Curzon, who spoke on this subject here fifteen years ago, I attach the deepest importance to the maintenance of the respect for parents, teachers and elders, traditional in Burma, and I would deplore the breaking down of institutions which foster that tradition. It is partly for this reason that Government has always exhibited the keenest interest in encouraging the study of Pâli, the language of religion in Burma, first by instituting special annual examinations in these studies and more recently by instituting the honorific title of "Aggamahapandita" to be conferred on monks and laymen who render eminent services in the promotion of Oriental, and especially Pâli, learning. I am gratified to learn that this title is highly valued and I hope that the

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solicitude of Government for the maintenance of classical learning in Burma will bear fruit in perpetuity and in strengthening the beneficial influences which were associated with proficiency in classical and religious studies in the past.

While speaking of titles I take this opportunity of announcing that the Government of India have decided, on the recommendation of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, to create a new honorary title for bestowal on Burmese gentlemen who, though holding no official position, have shown public spirit or generosity or have worked in the interests of education, agriculture or other public objects. The new title will be "Taing kyo Pyi kyo Saung" which, I understand, means one who has promoted the welfare of his country and the recipient will be entitled to place after his name the letters T.P.S. The badge of the title will be a gold medal.

I welcome most heartily the chiefs of the Shan States whom I see here to-day and I thank them for their presence. Though trade both to and from the Shan States has been affected by the war their prosperity has been, on the whole, well maintained. The spirit exhibited by chiefs and people has been entirely admirable. The former have displayed a sustained desire to take their full share in the great work imposed on the Empire and, whether in establishing and maintaining at their own expense patrols on important roads and ferries to prevent the entrance of hostile and seditious emissaries, or in showing their people an example of unswerving loyalty or in subscribing with the greatest generosity to many objects connected with the war and especially to the Burma War Fund, they have rendered valuable services for which I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking them in person. The Sawbwa of Kengtung, in

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particular, has shown most commendable energy in causing ill-disposed or seditious persons entering his State to be promptly arrested. I am glad, also, to learn that the chiefs have evinced generally a creditable desire for progressive and enlightened administration in the interests of their subjects. In the construction of roads, bridges and public works of utility a steady advance has been maintained, and I am interested to hear that a scheme has been prepared for the improvement of elementary education and that the Sawbwa of Hsipaw is endeavouring to improve agricultural methods in his State by creating an agricultural department, which will work on lines suggested by the Local Government's expert officers.

I regret my inability to extend my visit to the Shan States and I trust that these words will convey to the chiefs the friendly sympathy which I feel towards them and my appreciation of their loyal assistance throughout the war.

This is the last occasion on which I shall be making a speech in Burma and I should like to express the regret that I feel in being unable to give more satisfying replies to the requests which have been made to me by various public bodies, but I am sure that the people of Burma will recognise the very special circumstances in which my visit has been paid. Confronted with a great war the Government of India have felt bound to curtail any expenditure which did not bear on the war itself and we have to face years when, though we may be able to resume normal ways, we shall still feel the results of a terribly wasting conflict. In these circumstances I should have been untrue to you, untrue to myself, if I had held out a rosy prospect of financial assistance when no such prospect existed, but, believe me,

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I shall be leaving Burma deeply impressed by her potentialities and full of sympathy with her ambitions and I shall carry away an ineffaceable memory of the warm greeting which has been given to me as the representative of your King-Emperor. Burma may rest assured that in her Lieutenant-Governor she has a man who will never fail to put strongly before the Government of India her claims and aspirations and, for myself, I would say that she may rest assured that any case that the Burma Government may put up will always receive from me the most careful, the most friendly and the most sympathetic consideration.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME AT CALCUTTA.

23rd Decem- [His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by Her Excellency
ber 1916. Lady Chelmsford and staff arrived in Calcutta in the afternoon of the
22nd December at the conclusion of the Viceroy's tour in Burma.

On the morning of the 23rd eleven deputations waited on His Excellency at Government House and presented addresses of welcome which were as follows :—

ADDRESS FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

The address was as follows and read by the Maharaja of Burdwan.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the British Indian Association, beg leave to offer a most respectful and cordial welcome to Your Excellency on this your first official visit to our city as Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Your Excellency's present visit, following, as it does, upon your short sojourn in our midst last Christmas and again in early summer this year, has led us to hope that Your Excellency already appreciates the charms of our beloved city and recognises its unique importance as the

Address from the British Indian Association.

“Premier city” in the Indian Empire, and further that we may confidently expect Your Excellency to evince a genuine interest in the welfare of the city of Calcutta and of the Province of Bengal which have, since the momentous changes of 1911 been deprived of the share of Viceregal patronage which they had formerly had the good fortune to enjoy and which they may legitimately aspire to be favoured with.

We are well aware that reasons of State may prevent Your Excellency from remaining in our midst for any length of time at a stretch, but we may assure you, Sir, that we shall ever accord a cordial welcome to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford, and we hope that your visits to our capital may always be pleasant and enjoyable.

Your Excellency does not come to India quite as a stranger, for not only has Your Excellency's family had connections with India and Your Excellency was in India in your infancy, but Your Lordship, fired by that true patriotism which at the present moment swells the heart of every Englishman—in fact, every citizen of the Empire in this titanic struggle now going on in Europe—volunteered to come out to India with the Territorials, and thus gained for yourself the unique opportunity of studying the problems of the country for over fifteen months before taking over the reins of the most prized and exalted office that our beloved King-Emperor has graciously called upon Your Lordship to assume. This augurs well, Sir, and we are confident that, in these days of rapid progress and awakening in India, the future of our beloved land and the legitimate aspirations of her people will be safe in Your Lordship's hands.

We, in Bengal, have received with sentiments of profound gratitude the welcome announcement, made in Your Excellency's inaugural address in the Council Chamber, that Your Excellency's Government “are arranging for experiments for the investigation of malaria problems in Bengal.” We take heart from Your Excellency's declaration that “it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this question,” and we cordially share Your Excellency's hope that it may be practicable to “formulate measures to deal with malaria as a result of these experiments.”

Address from the British Indian Association.

Believing, as we do, that there is an intimate connection between economic causes and political unrest, we consider ourselves specially fortunate in having at the present time a Viceroy, who, it has now become known throughout India, takes the keenest interest in the economic problems of the country. Much valuable light is expected to be thrown upon those problems by the labours of the Holland Commission, and we fervently pray that Your Excellency's Viceroyalty may be signalised by the inauguration of an epoch-making scheme which, to quote Your Excellency's language, "will result in the stimulation of existing industries, the foundation of others, and the increase of the material prosperity of the people of India."

Your Excellency's remarks on agriculture in your first speech in Council have been received with unbounded satisfaction by all classes of the people, and specially by the landed interests of this Province. We are confident that agricultural improvement will never cease to occupy Your Excellency's earnest attention.

We have noted with interest Your Excellency's statement that the question as to whether the Viceroy's powers of nomination should not be further enlarged, is regarded by Your Excellency as one that is deserving of consideration. We respectfully submit that even the warmest admirer of the elective system cannot consistently object to the enlargement of the Viceregal powers of nomination, regard being had to the multitudinous communities and interests which are at present hardly represented, but whose claims to representation cannot be ignored or questioned.

We respectfully tender Your Excellency, in the name of Bengal, this humble expression of her warmest and abiding gratitude for having so graciously sanctioned the formation of a Bengali Double Company and thereby removed a stigma upon the fair name and fame of our Province. We feel a thrill of pride in the thought that the Bengali has, for the first time under British Rule, been privileged to join the army and participate in a war in which India is sealing her heritage with the blood of her best and bravest.

In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency of our deep attachment to the Throne of England and the Person of our beloved King-

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Emperor. We hope that the Zemindars of Bengal, whom we have the honour chiefly to represent, may continue to enjoy, during Your Excellency's régime, the privileges which they greatly value and cherish and in conclusion we fervently pray that Your Lordship's term of office may be one of unqualified success and that you may enjoy with Lady Chelmsford all prosperity and happiness.

The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I am much gratified to receive this welcome from an Association of such long standing, representing interests so vitally important to the well-being of rural Bengal. In the course of this and other visits to Calcutta I look forward confidently not only to gaining a better acquaintance with your hopes and your problems, but also to meeting the men who figure prominently in your public life, and it is therefore hardly necessary for me to assure you that your expectation that I shall display a sympathetic interest in the welfare of this great city and of the province of Bengal will not be disappointed.

I am glad you have mentioned the experiments which are about to be undertaken for the investigation of malaria problems in Bengal, as this gives me an opportunity of expressing once again my sense of the immense importance of those problems and the necessity for taking steps to deal with them. The importance of the question has indeed been long recognized, but the evil was on so immense a scale and its real origin was shrouded in such uncertainty that it seemed almost useless to touch it. It is acknowledged that considerable upland areas outside the deltaic tract have gradually become more and more malarious, but the reasons for the change are not clearly known. We have, however, had certain theories put before us and before the public, more especially

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by the present Sanitary Commissioner, Mr. Bentley, and Lord Carmichael's Government have decided with our cordial assent to put these theories to a proper test. A rural area in Burdwan and an urban area in the Murshidabad district are to be subjected to a system of flooding followed by a flush or scour and Mr. Bentley is, I understand, very sanguine of the success of the experiment. On this investigation a lakh of rupees will be spent. Two other experiments will at the same time be undertaken on a smaller scale. One will be made in Jalpai-guri to test the effect in the submontane areas of the subsoil drainage system which has been so successful in the Malay States. The other will be tried in the Burdwan district to test the results of flushing a stream which is apt to run dry or become stagnant by means of a head of water pent up behind a sluice which would be opened at suitable intervals. These two experiments deal with small areas only, but their scientific value is expected to be great, and their cost — which amounts to half a lakh of rupees — is being met by the Indian Research Fund. A lakh and a half therefore is being spent on malarial experiment. We can at present only feel our way. Our experts cannot assure us of the success of any of these experiments. But until they have been given a trial, it would be waste of money to undertake large and expensive measures of possible reform, even if we had the funds to spend upon them. The more of these experiments we can have, the better, and I should be glad to see them taken up under scientific supervision by some of the large landowners. I can imagine few measures of greater benefit to this tenantry and to the public, and an experiment properly carried out, even if it renders merely negative results, is of immense value in adding to the foundations on which we may hope some day to build a scheme of

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improvement which will, with the help of clearer knowledge and wider experience, bring this terrible scourge of malaria under effective human control.

I share with you the belief that political unrest can often be traced to economic conditions. You have quoted from a speech of mine in which I expressed hopes as to the result which might be expected from the Holland Commission, and to-day I need not say more than that the Holland Commission cannot possibly achieve those results unless the leaders of public opinion in India make up their minds to support the findings of the Commission and to co-operate whole-heartedly in the cause of economic progress. I therefore look to you, Gentlemen, to assist in educating public opinion and in stimulating the classes with whom you are in touch, to seize the opportunities which will be there for India to take, if India will only take them.

I am gratified to learn that you are in sympathy with the remarks that I made on the subject of agriculture at the first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council in September last, because I feel sure that your Association, which comprises so many Zamindars, could do a great deal to encourage improved methods of cultivation. Various researches are in progress regarding some of the most important crops in Bengal, and I understand that practical results have already been achieved by Mr. Finlow's experiments with jute and Mr. Hector's investigations into paddy; but the full fruit of such labours will not be reaped until the knowledge gained has been disseminated among the cultivators, and those of you who are large land-owners have special opportunities of assisting in this good work.

Address from the British Indian Association.

In the speech to which you have referred, I expressed the hope that demonstration farms will in course of time be spread all over the country, and it seems to me that this is a matter in which the co-operation of the Zamindars of Bengal would be invaluable. There is no reason why all these farms should be under Government management. It is, however, essential that they should be worked on scientific lines, for misdirected teaching and demonstration are likely to do more harm than good and until our Agricultural Colleges have turned out a sufficient number of experts to take up private work, it will probably be advisable for private demonstration farms to be supervised by the Agricultural Department. I am sure that the Department will be glad to co-operate in this matter, and if large land-owners would establish such farms on their estates they would confer great benefits on their tenants, while at the same time they would improve the value of their own properties. In my opinion there is no way in which large land-owners could better promote the particular object for which your Association was founded.

I note with satisfaction that the action of the Government of India in granting Bengalis facilities for service in the army has earned your grateful acknowledgments. I understand that recruiting for the Bengali Double Company began about the 15th August and that by the 22nd November it had been completed up to its full strength of 222. Recruits are still offering themselves for service and those enlisted are reported to be making satisfactory progress in their training.

I am informed that the Bengali recruits are keen and smart, and that their conduct has been all that could be desired. I hope that the Bengali Double Company will soon be reported fit for service, and that it will not be long before it is given an

Address from the Calcutta Trades Association.

opportunity of displaying its soldierly qualities in the field and thus justifying the favourable impressions already formed of its work.

Finally, let me thank you for your good wishes on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself. You give warm-hearted expression to your feelings of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and I need hardly assure you that such sentiments are in themselves a guarantee of the permanence of the privileges which the Zamindars of Bengal enjoy under the British Crown.

ADDRESS FROM THE CALCUTTA TRADES ASSOCIATION.

[The address was as follows and read by Captain C. F. Hooper. 23rd December 1916.]

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Calcutta Trades Association, approach Your Excellency with a respectful and cordial welcome on the occasion of your first official visit to this city.

Looking back to the early beginnings from which this great city of Calcutta has grown, there is a certain feeling of pride in us when we recall that from the operations of a Trading Company has grown not only the city of Calcutta but the British Empire in India.

As citizens of Calcutta, we cannot forget the historic landing of Job Charnock on the banks of the Hooghly, nor can we fail to applaud his wonderful foresight, which detected a great future for commerce in the unpromising site on which he first built his primitive warehouses and persevered to maintain a foothold for his trading company.

Political power dawned when competition with the French led by Dupleix forced Clive away from a writer's desk to lead the Company's soldiers to victory, first in what is now the Madras Presidency, and, later, in the fertile and densely populated regions which to us are still known as the Presidency of Bengal.

Address from the Calcutta Trades Association.

We would respectfully ask Your Excellency to bear with us while we briefly direct attention to the history of our Association which is we believe the oldest public body in this country. On the 12th June 1830, as the result of a suggestion made by the then Chief Justice of Bengal, a public meeting was convened to consider the advisability of forming a Trades Association. Of the firms represented at that meeting at least nine are still in existence.

The proceedings and declared objects of the Association were honoured with the approval and patronage of the Right Hon'ble Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, at that time Governor of Bengal, and Governor-General of India. Four years later, after having dealt meanwhile with several questions of public interest, the Association, while disclaiming any desire to meddle with matters which did not concern them, applied to Lord William Bentinck for permission to be recognised as a public body with power to address Government direct on matters coming within or connected with the declared objects of the Association, or which might be referred to them by Government or certain public functionaries of the City. The request was graciously accorded on the 29th December 1834. On the 20th March 1835 Lord William Bentinck left India, and the first address ever presented by the Association was to that Nobleman on the occasion of his retirement. In the course of the sympathetic reply which he vouchsafed to the address, His Lordship recorded his testimony to the high estimation in which the Association was held. In 1882 the Association was registered and acquired the full legal status of a Corporate Body.

The position attained by our Association has gained for it the privileges of being represented on the Legislative Council of the Government of Bengal, as well as on the Corporation of the City of Calcutta and the Calcutta Port Trust.

Your Excellency, we wait on you to-day to present our profound respects to the representative of our Beloved Sovereign, King George V, who within recent years has twice honoured Calcutta with his presence, on the last occasion as King-Emperor.

We most respectfully congratulate Your Excellency upon your appointment to the exalted office of Viceroy of India, and rejoice that this great country will be afforded the opportunity of being

Address from the Calcutta Trades Association.

benefited by the experience which you bring with you. We feel assured that the important and widely extended interests of this City, to whose origin as a wisely selected focus of commerce and trade and therefore of the influence and power which are inseparable from them we have briefly alluded, will at all times during Your Excellency's rule secure a full measure of your sympathetic attention.

The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your address and for the cordial terms in which you welcome me.

It is right and proper that among the many bodies which I shall have the pleasure of receiving this morning a high place should be held by the Calcutta Trades Association whose early beginnings — though modern perhaps compared with the guilds and companies of Europe — go back far in the commercial history of this city where trade conditions have undergone such immense and wonderful changes during the last century.

I have perused the record of your earliest proceedings and, as one who has lived on his military pay in this country, I am interested to discover that you owe your inception and embodiment to the insolvency of a subaltern.

The merchants of Calcutta are fully entitled to be proud of the part they have played in the commercial development of the British Empire in the East. You have had your hard times and I notice that your Chairman more than 80 years ago at a period of exceptional difficulty for those engaged in trade made the following pronouncement to your predecessors :—
“ We must suit our terms of business to the times we live in.”
Well, Gentlemen, by holding to that sound advice you have survived your difficulties and you have prospered, and I do not think it would be easy to suggest a better maxim to you in these days of trial when we are fighting for our very existence,

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

when forethought and sacrifice are required of all, when you must prove yourselves more than ever adaptable to changing conditions, placing above all other considerations the needs of the Empire to which in the past you have done good service and to which you owe your great opportunities.

ADDRESS FROM THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

23rd Decem- [The address, which was read by Mr. A. C. Atkinson, was as
ber 1916. follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the President and Council of the Anglo-Indian Association of Calcutta, representing the Federated Anglo-Indian Associations of India and the President and Council of the Anglo-Indian Empire League, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the opportunity afforded us of offering to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community, their most loyal and hearty greetings.

2. The Anglo-Indian community is but a small fraction of the total population of India. It is, moreover, a community so widely scattered over the face of the land, that the difficulties in the way of organising the representation of its interests by a body in close touch with its constituents in every part of India, are unusually great. A movement with this end in view must involve as a preliminary the formation of local associations, working independently of one another, and at times, perhaps, in some sort of rivalry. But these Associations have already been able to co-operate in many ways for the good of the community they represent, and we are glad to be able to say that, in addressing Your Excellency to-day, we not only represent the several Anglo-Indian Associations, but also the Anglo-Indian Empire League.

3. We remember with gratitude the sympathetic interest that has been taken in the Anglo-Indian community by many of Your Excellency's distinguished predecessors, notably Lords Canning, Lytton, and Curzon, and we feel sure that we may count upon the same interest in our welfare on the part of Your Excellency.

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

4. Owing to circumstances in great measure beyond their own control, the position of Anglo-Indians is admittedly a difficult one. The instincts and traditions of even the poorer members of the community make them cling to European habits and modes of life, and that this may be possible they must be able to obtain work that is paid for on a scale sufficient to allow of a European standard of living. The lamentably large number of Anglo-Indians who live in real poverty, shows that these members of the community are either not fitted for, or are unable to obtain, employment of a sufficiently remunerative character. It is also true that Anglo-Indians find themselves competing more and more with well educated Indians in the struggle for existence. We are far from complaining of this ; it is the inevitable result of the spread of Western education in India ; but it has forced us to realise that the salvation of the Anglo-Indian community depends more than anything else upon education. We consider it imperative that every child of the domiciled community should be suitably educated, and that it should be made easier than it now is for scholars of special ability and promise to proceed from secondary education to higher education. We also feel strongly that no education can be satisfactory that is not given by persons of high character who have been specially trained for the work they have to do.

We venture therefore to express to Your Excellency our strong hope that it may be found possible in the early future to give fuller effect to the recommendations of the Conference on the education of the domiciled community held at Simla in July 1912, especially the recommendations relating to the general improvement of schools, the training of teachers, and the provision of the means of better nurture and education for the children of the very poor. The difficulty of obtaining competent teachers, especially men teachers, is at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the improvement of European education.

5. The rejections on physical grounds of men who offered themselves for service in the Anglo-Indian Force, have drawn attention to the poor physique of many members of our community, and we believe that the cause of this is the fact that the children of the poorer classes of the community are very generally underfed. We should welcome the systematic medical inspection of all children attending European

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

schools, for this would lead, we trust, to the adoption of measures tending to prevent the physical deterioration that results from the hygienic neglect of growing children.

6. The Anglo-Indian community has on various occasions petitioned Your Excellency's predecessors for the formation of an Anglo-Indian regiment. We have therefore to offer our grateful thanks for the notification issued last March relating to the formation of an Anglo-Indian Force, but we deeply regret to have to acknowledge that the enlistments have neither been so prompt nor so numerous as was confidently hoped. We should feel this apparent failure to be a grave reflection upon the patriotism of our community were it not that, at more than one recruiting centre, nearly three times the number of men called for offered themselves for enlistment, and if we did not know that, ever since the war began, Anglo-Indians have managed to find their way in one capacity or another to every front, and that the number of Anglo-Indians in the fighting forces of the Empire has now reached a figure that is creditable to the community.

7. We fear that we have troubled Your Excellency with an address of somewhat inordinate length, although we have confined ourselves to matter of real importance to the community. There is only one other question that we shall now ask leave to refer to, and that is the representation of the Anglo-Indian community on the Imperial Legislative Council. The appointment of Mr. W. C. Madge as a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council in January 1910 enhanced the self-respect of the whole domiciled community, and did much to promote its solidarity. The fact that no one has been appointed to succeed Mr. J. H. Abbott as a representative of the community has been felt as a bitter disappointment. We venture to hope that it may again be found possible to accord to Anglo-Indians the representation that is so greatly valued.

8. It now only remains for us to express, on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community, their heartfelt wishes for the health and happiness of Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford, and a confident hope that Your Excellency's rule in India will be successful in promoting the best interests of the many peoples committed to Your Excellency's charge.

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—In the first place, let me thank you for the warm and friendly greetings you accord to me on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community whose needs and sentiments you have to-day come to represent.

Your picture of the real poverty in which so large a number of the Anglo-Indian community are forced to live is one which I appreciate only too well and I cordially agree with you in your view that in these days of increasing competition the salvation of the community depends more than anything else on education. The proposals made at the Simla Conference to which you allude have since received the careful consideration of the various Governments, and I hope that we shall very shortly be able to publish our views as to what can and what cannot be done in the directions indicated by the Conference. For the present I shall confine myself to one or two observations suggested by your address.

I think you are absolutely right in aiming at a state of things in which every child of the community, rich or poor, should receive some form of education. This is an aim which we have in view for India generally, but whereas for most other communities it must necessarily be a vision of the distant future, it is for you, owing to the start which you have obtained and to the limited numbers with which you have to deal, an aspiration already within your reach. There are difficulties in applying compulsion to the children who still remain outside the schools, but you have many private agencies at work (such as the admirable institution at Kalimpong, to which you in Calcutta are so much indebted) to attract destitute children to a free and practical training, and the various Governments are ready to meet by improved

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

grant rules the case of the poorest classes who are unable to meet the cost of the ordinary school fees. Large subscriptions have, as you know, been made by the Government of India for the special purpose of assisting the education of your community in the Presidency towns of Calcutta and Madras, and I trust that we may very soon reach — indeed we have to a large extent already reached — a stage at which poverty can no longer be looked upon as preventing any Anglo-Indian child in our big cities from receiving education. Steps are also being taken, as circumstances permit, to extend the important practice, to which you refer, of systematic medical inspection of the children and I trust that those who hold the control of Anglo-Indian schools will realize their responsibilities in this respect towards the children under their charge and towards their parents.

But you have expressed a desire not only for an expansion of education throughout the community, but also for an improvement in the education which is imparted. Here your community has a difficult task before it and one which will call for much foresight and much fortitude. Indian competition, Indian claims and Indian qualifications are increasing yearly. If the Anglo-Indian community is to hold its own, it cannot rely indefinitely on traditional merit or traditional privilege. It must, in the highest stages of education at least, be prepared to meet its Indian competitors on their ground. The courses of Universities all over the world are becoming generally more alike. Let us have, where we can, separate residential arrangements at our colleges for Anglo-Indian students ; but do not let us rely too much on separate curricula or separate standards. In our secondary schools where the courses are — and very properly may remain — distinct, our chief need, as

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

you have pointed out, is a supply of teachers of good character, properly trained, and I must add properly paid. The recommendations of the Conference of 1912 under these heads have received the most careful consideration, but the schemes for improving and increasing our training centres have been sadly interfered with by the war. The war has taken away many of our European teachers — some like Mr. Wood of the Lucknow Martinere, have given up their lives for their country — and the war has made it next to impossible to recruit male teachers from England. There is an opening now for good teachers of your own community, which will, I trust, not be neglected by them, and I should like to see more young men and women of the domiciled community taking up, and taking up with seriousness and success, the honourable profession of teaching.

The war, as I have stated, has interfered much with our plans and the financial stringency has rendered it impossible to proceed for the present with most of the schemes which in the days of prosperity commended themselves to the Conference of 1912. If progress is now to be made it must be made by increased co-operation between schools, and by increased concentration of effort. There are many different agencies at work with different methods and different ideals. There is here, as there too often is in England, an overlapping of functions, a dissipation of effort. One does not expect — one does not indeed desire — a complete uniformity of system. But the unco-ordinated working of independent agencies — though it may in a rich country like England be attended by merits which outweigh its disadvantages — is an expensive process and one which in India needs careful watching. There is no doubt that if our competing educational agencies could,

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without giving up their local or denominational ideals, arrange for greater co-operation and improved organization, we should make the little money we have go further, and we should get larger schools, better equipment, better and better-paid teachers. We have in recent years received considerable accessions to the financial stability of our position. Private liberality — such as that shown in the large-hearted scheme of Sir Robert Laidlaw — has done much. The Government has also done much and the help given by public funds in the three years following the Conference has risen by 50 per cent. But with the advent of war and financial difficulties it is to economy and to re-organization that we must look, and I have every confidence that your Association will help us to meet the new position with the resolution and prudence which the change in our circumstances demands.

The formation of an Anglo-Indian Force last year was designed to satisfy the military aspirations of the community which you represent, and I am glad to note that the sympathetic action of Government in the matter has been so gratefully appreciated. As the terms of service offered were specially favourable, it is somewhat disappointing to find that they have not produced a better response. The number of men required is 1,109, but despite the stimulus of a great war, only 702 have been enlisted after eight months' vigorous recruiting. It is true that the number of candidates offering themselves for service has been considerably in excess of that number, but despite the relaxation of normal standards in the case of those whose physical development gave promise of improvement, the number rejected on medical grounds has been about 40 per cent. in many cases. This seems to confirm the correctness of your views as to the poor physique of a large proportion of the

Address from the Anglo-Indian Association.

community. I am glad, however, to say that a complete Anglo-Indian battery with three Anglo-Indian officers is now on active service, and that a troop of Cavalry and two companies of Infantry will be ready to take the field in April. I hope that the prospect of proceeding on field service will give recruiting the stimulus it requires, and that the community which you represent will realize that the opportunity now offered to Anglo-Indians of proving their patriotism and fitness for military service is unique and that it will be their own fault if the experiment initiated by Government at their request proves a failure. This result would be more to be regretted, as the number of Anglo-Indians employed individually on different fronts is, as you say, considerable and their work in various capacities generally creditable to the community.

In regard to the question of your representation on the Imperial Legislative Council, I shall not lose sight of the considerations which you urge. But my powers of nomination are, as you know, limited and you must not forget that until recently your community had enjoyed the privilege of unbroken representation by nomination since the Council was established in its present form. My powers must on each occasion be exercised in what appears to be the highest public interest at the moment. The war and the conditions created by it have emphasised particular needs, and I do not imagine that there is one among you who in present circumstances would not admit the desirability of affording representation to the Indian Army.

In conclusion, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford as well as for myself, I thank you for the cordial expressions of good-will which find a place in your address.

ADDRESS FROM THE CENTRAL NATIONAL MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION.

23rd Decem- [Nawab Abdul Jabbar read the address which was as follows :
ber 1916.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Central National Mahomedan Association, Calcutta, beg leave to approach Your Excellency with this address of welcome on your visit to the premier city of India.

2. This Association was established about 40 years ago by Mr. (now Right Hon'ble) Syed Amcer Ali, P.C., with the object of promotion by all legitimate and constitutional means of the well-being of the Musalmans of India. It is founded essentially on the principle of strict and loyal adherence to the British Crown. Deriving its inspirations from the noble traditions of the past, it proposes to work in harmony with Western culture and the progressive tendencies of the age. It aims at the political regeneration of the Indian Mahomedans by moral revival, and by constant endeavours to obtain from the Government recognition of their just and legitimate claims. For the last 40 years this Association has worked steadily and loyally on the above lines, and its efforts have been recognised from time to time by Viceroys and Governors.

3. Owing to the present devastating world-war, the Association has of late considerably suspended its activities, lest it might embarrass the Government by special representations and communal requests in matters affecting the interests of the Mahomedan community. At the same time, whilst recognising the great strain put on Indian Moslem feelings by the unfortunate circumstance that Turkey, under the influence of Germany, has ranged herself on the side of the enemy, this Association has availed itself of every available opportunity to press on the community its first duty of loyal fidelity to their august Sovereign, under whose aegis it is their proud privilege to live as citizens of the great British Empire — an Empire with which all their best material interests are bound up. And we are glad to note with satisfaction that the Musalmans in India, however strained their feelings have been by passing events in the political world, have not swerved from their first duty of loyalty and fidelity to the British Crown, whose proclaimed policy has always been to preserve inviolate their religious freedom and rights, and the observance of their religious rites and ceremonies.

Address from the Central National Mahomedan Association.

4. We do not deem it opportune on the present occasion, especially under the shadow of a great and calamitous war, to trouble Your Excellency with any specific communal requests, although we keenly feel that the claims of Indian Musalmans for educational facilities and extended employment in all branches of the public services, and for adequate representation on local self-governing bodies, such as District Boards, Local Boards, Municipalities and Universities, deserve further and wider recognition than they have hitherto received. Such recognition, we venture to observe, is desirable not only in the interests of the Mahomedan community, but also for the efficiency of the State machinery, especially under the changed conditions under which it is now working.

5. We pray to God that He may grant Your Excellency health and strength to bear, in the present trying times, the burden of Empire successfully, and towards the increased happiness and contentment of the millions whose lot has been entrusted to your hands by our most gracious Sovereign.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Let me first tender to you and the Association which you represent my cordial thanks for your address of welcome and the good wishes it contains.

I am interested to hear that your Association was founded by that distinguished member of your community, Mr. Ameer Ali, whom I have had the honour of meeting and whose career has been followed with the closest interest by his many friends, both in this country and in England. His example should be a useful stimulus to the younger members of your community to train themselves similarly for the highest service under the Crown in the great Empire of which you are no mean portion.

I am gratified to learn that during the forty years of its existence, your Association has continued to work on the sound lines and principles on which it was originally constituted, and

Address from the Central National Mahomedan Association.

so long as these are adhered to, you may rest assured that there will be no diminution in its utility either to the community which it represents or to the public interest.

I warmly appreciate the reasons which have led you recently to curtail the activities of your Association in the matter of special representations and communal requests which would be in any way likely to be embarrassing to Government. It is an example that has not been universally followed, and I recognize that it must necessarily involve some restraint on your part. Let me take this opportunity of thanking you for the efforts you tell me you have made to inculcate during this great crisis of the world's history fidelity to our beloved King-Emperor and to the great Empire to which we all belong.

As you remark the war has placed on Mahomedans a strain to which no other community has been equally exposed, and it is to myself and my Government a source of great satisfaction that with a few unimportant exceptions the loyalty of the Mahomedan community in India is now as unswerving and firmly established as it was before the war.

The Indian Army depends for a large proportion of its recruits upon the Mussalman population of this country, and in the almost world-wide conflict that still rages, they have fought most gallantly and many of them have alas ! sealed their allegiance and their loyalty with their life's blood.

India has nobly identified herself with the cause of freedom and honour for which the Empire threw down the gauntlet of battle, and she will ever retain an imperishable memory of her brave sons who have fought shoulder to shoulder with the King's Armies in so many quarters of the globe.

Address from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

I do not propose to use this occasion for any pronouncement upon the questions of educational facilities for the Mussalmans of India or the other matters to which you refer. You have yourselves felt that the moment was inopportune for dealing with such thorny topics, including as they do some of the most difficult problems that come before Government. It is the business of Government to forward to the utmost of their power the interests of all sections of the community, and when there is a conflict of interests the task is a delicate one demanding skill and sagacity of the highest order. The occasions are many when it is quite impossible to satisfy all parties to these questions, but should you in the course of my tenure of my high office feel dissatisfied with decisions that may be arrived at, I trust that you will at least give me credit for weighing with anxious consideration all aspects of the questions that present themselves and for doing all that lies in my power to understand and meet the aspirations and ideals of His Majesty's faithful Indian Mussalman subjects.

ADDRESS FROM THE BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

[The address, which was as follows, was read by Raja Rishi Case 23rd December 1916.
Law.

*May it please Your Excellency,—*We, the members of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, beg leave to approach Your Excellency and respectfully offer you and Lady Chelmsford a most cordial welcome to our city.

2. We gratefully appreciate the honour done to our Province by Your Excellency's kind and wise decision to spend a pretty long time in our midst this year, and we fervently pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to make the visit an annual function during Your Excellency's.

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term of Viceroyalty, and thereby acquire a first-hand knowledge of the people and their needs and requirements.

3. Your Excellency's Government have placed the people of Bengal under a deep debt of gratitude by sanctioning the formation of the Bengali Double Company, which opens a new career — a career of usefulness to our young men.

4. The sympathetic and inspiring utterances of Your Excellency in the Imperial Council Chamber, regarding the happy results to flow from the labours of the Industrial Commission, have roused in us fond expectations that, during Your Excellency's administration, measures of a comprehensive nature will be initiated for "the stimulation of the existing industries, the foundation of others, and the increase of the material prosperity of the people of India." In this connection we would invite Your Excellency's kind attention to the need of a fully equipped Technical and Commercial College in our Province for the scientific training of our young men for industrial and commercial pursuits.

5. We are glad to find Your Excellency attaching special importance to the development of the agricultural resources of the country and the scheme which Your Excellency was pleased to enunciate for its attainment will, we trust, in fullness of time, bear bountiful fruits. Your Excellency has justly observed "The Indian cultivator has shown himself quite ready to adopt improved methods as soon as he is convinced of their utility," and we humbly associate ourselves with Your Excellency and "look forward to a time when demonstration farms will be spread all over the country, bringing the practical results of scientific research within the reach of the agricultural masses."

6. As representing the Indian commercial interests of our Province, we beg leave to invite Your Excellency's kind attention to the deplorable condition of its waterways, most of which, now nearly silted up, have seriously affected the internal traffic and the drainage of the Province, thereby endangering its sanitation. We earnestly pray that the Government of India will, under Your Excellency's inspiration, extend its helping hand to the Local Government in reclaiming the waterways and

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fighting out the scourge of malaria which has seriously threatened the prosperity of our Province.

7. We fervently hope that the first year of Your Excellency's administration in India will see the end of the world-wide war in the triumph of the Allies in their just and righteous cause, and will thereby open to Your Excellency ample scope for inaugurating in India an era of prosperity and contentment.

8. In conclusion, we pray that health and happiness in bountiful measure may be Your Excellency's portion in India, and that, under Your Excellency's administration, India may show a glorious record of both moral and material progress strengthening the foundation of British rule in India.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—Let me first thank you, Gentlemen, for the hearty welcome which you have accorded to Lady Chelmsford and myself. I am very glad to take this early opportunity of meeting you and making your acquaintance, for I feel that these meetings may help me to understand the views and needs of the Indian commercial community in Bengal.

You have made a kindly reference to my remarks in the Imperial Council Chamber, in which I expressed my hopes of the results to be obtained from the labours of the Indian Industrial Commission. I can only repeat my desire that I may witness the beginning of a period of real industrial expansion in this country, and that this expansion may proceed on sound and healthy lines. It must not, however, be expected that any Government can by a stroke of the pen create an advanced industrial nation. The assistance and advice of Government can no doubt achieve something, and I shall make it my object to see that, where such assistance and advice can legitimately be given, they will be forthcoming. But it is the experience of every country that industrial development must depend in

Address from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

the last resort on the energies and enterprise of the people themselves.

You invite my attention to the need of a Technical and Commercial College in Bengal. I have twice presided over Committees in London which controlled technical and commercial education. I should naturally therefore be glad to see any steps taken which will lead our young men to take up industrial and commercial pursuits, and any scheme which has for its object the preparation of students for an industrial or commercial career has my sincerest sympathy. Whether this preparation should be given in a technical and commercial college such as has been proposed for Bengal is a matter deserving serious consideration, and I understand that there is a scheme now before the University authorities for the establishment of a college of this character. The scheme is still being subjected to an examination in all its bearings from those best able to advise. There are difficulties — financial and other — connected with any scheme of this kind, and we cannot tell at this stage how far it will be possible to surmount these difficulties. But the principle upon which the scheme is based, namely, the desirability of providing a class of education suitable for those who wish to enter into an industrial or commercial career is one which cannot fail to command our approbation and support. Though I have full faith in the value of commercial education and of technical training, I am also convinced that they cannot be considered as more than a foundation of knowledge. The rest must be gained by the practical experience of hard work in the counting house or in the workshop. Probably over 90 per cent. of our students in London on the Technical and Commercial side came straight from the workshop to the school. Your young men must not

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be too proud to begin at the very bottom of the ladder, and, in the case of industries, to learn the business thoroughly by themselves working with their hands as our young men whatever their status in life have to do in England.

I am glad to hear that your Chamber appreciates the importance of developing the agricultural resources of the country. Although attention is now being devoted to the question of promoting other industries, agriculture will continue to be the mainstay of the great majority of the people of India, and it is probable that the industries subsidiary to agriculture will form the most secure stepping stones to more advanced industrial enterprise. The improvement in agricultural methods is therefore a matter which affects the commercial as well as the agricultural community. An increase in the production of the land not only enhances the purchasing power of the people, thereby stimulating trade, but also multiplies the raw material for India's nascent industries.

You invite my attention to the condition of your waterways. The improvement of the waterways of Bengal with a view to increasing the facilities for inland navigation is a problem to which both the Government of India and the Local Government have in the past accorded, and will in the future continue to accord, careful consideration. That the Government of Bengal have not been neglectful of the interests concerned is proved by the large sums already spent on the navigable canals of the Province, the conversion of the Madaripur Bhil route into a perennial waterway, the training works undertaken on the principal rivers, and the constitution of an enlarged standing committee, upon which commercial interests are strongly represented, to advise on the subject of the

Address from the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

maintenance and improvement of the waterways. A further project for the construction of a navigable canal in Bengal to connect the Bidyadhari and Hooghly rivers, thus shortening materially the journey to Assam, is, I understand, under preparation and I can at least assure you that this as well as any other scheme which the Local Government may desire to put forward will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of my Government.

The connection between the waterways and the problem of malaria is of course a close one. The prevalence of malaria in Bengal has, as you know, for some time engaged the careful attention of Government. For several years, there has been a special officer in charge of malaria research in the Province, and, within recent years, the question of malaria in Bengal has been actively investigated by Major Fry and Dr. Bentley and others, whose reports have been published. A short time ago, in connection with a Resolution brought forward in the Imperial Council, the Local Governments, including the Government of Bengal, were requested to prosecute with vigour such measures as are within their power for the investigation and prevention of malaria. In replying to the Address presented by the British Indian Association, I have mentioned the steps taken by the Government of Bengal and the Indian Research Fund Association, to provide funds for conducting some important experiments on this subject. I may also mention that we have the question of the connection of malaria and the construction of railways and other public works under our consideration at this time. The improvement of the drainage of the Presidency is also receiving the earnest consideration of the Government of Bengal, who have specially investigated, through their Sanitary Commissioner, the relation of drainage

Address from the European Association.

to malaria. Drainage projects for the Midnapur and 24-Perganas districts are, I understand, under preparation, and investigation of the drainage conditions in the Jessore, Nadia and Murshidabad districts are in hand. The Damodar Canal project, which is intended to improve the sanitary conditions of the Burdwan district in addition to providing irrigation facilities, has been prepared and submitted to my Government for approval and is now being examined by the Inspector-General of Irrigation. These facts will, I hope, show you that, though of course much remains to be done to mitigate the havoc which is wrought by malaria, Government are keenly alive to the importance of the subject and are undertaking practical measures to cope with the evil.

Meanwhile I need hardly say that all these and other measures which are either in course of progress or under contemplation for the betterment of the conditions of the people are for the time being overshadowed by the momentous events that are taking place in Europe. We cannot say that the end is yet in sight, but I have full confidence in the final triumph of our arms and every hope that we may ere long be able to look back upon the storm and forward to clear skies and smiling sunshine.

I thank you, Gentlemen, both on Lady Chelmsford's account and my own, for the kindly welcome that you have accorded me.

ADDRESS FROM THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION.

[The address, which was read by the Hon'ble Mr. Birkmyre, was 23rd December 1916.
as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the non-official European community throughout India, whose interests the European

Address from the European Association.

Association was founded to represent and protect, we desire to welcome Your Excellency on your visit to Calcutta, a city largely created and raised to its present eminence by European merchants and traders.

This Association represents a varied and extended constituency. Its members are drawn from the large European population of the great cities, from the planters in remote districts, the mine and works managers and others engaged in the development of India's industrial wealth, and the isolated groups of professional and mercantile men in the small stations throughout the land.

The members of this Association are all deeply interested in the welfare and prosperity of India, and they are anxious that the social and political development of the country should be guided by the enlightened spirit and mature judgment that have attended the growth of the British Empire in all parts of the world. But the political value and influence of such a constituency are greatly discounted by its scattered character, and whilst we seek no selfish privileges, we venture to ask Your Excellency's kindly consideration of our position and our aims.

It is our object to focus and express to Your Excellency's Government the views of the non-official European community, of whose responsibilities, as the representatives in the Indian Empire of the British people, we are deeply conscious. The very organisation of the large and increasing body of non-official Europeans in such a way as to make their opinions known and their influence felt is, we venture to submit, of special advantage in the governance of India.

It will be our constant endeavour while frankly criticising Government measures and policy, to keep in mind our first duty, namely, to give such assistance as the European community can afford to Your Excellency's Government, to help to the best of our ability all measures that promote the advancement of the Indian Empire, and to foster that spirit of loyalty to the Crown which has found such remarkable expression during the present war.

We trust that Your Excellency's term of office, though begun under the stress of war, will be blest with the restoration of peace, and that this country may thus enjoy the full benefit of the experience

Address from the European Association.

and statesmanship which Your Excellency has brought to your lofty position.

The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your courteous address and regard it as singularly appropriate that an Association constituted for the ends you describe should come forward to receive the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor in the city of Calcutta which owes so much to the enterprise and foresight of non-official Europeans of past times.

In the present day, when public opinion plays so large a part in the guidance of our destinies, it is not only natural but even desirable that those who are united by the bonds of common interests should form themselves into associations so that the considerations which vitally concern them may be examined, sifted and properly placed before Government, and from this point of view you are to be congratulated upon the recent growth in your membership and the healthy vitality of your organisation, which is illustrated by the variety of topics you have taken up in the past few years and the numerous representations you have made to Government. You have drawn attention to many matters of great importance and have helped to focus the attention of Government on certain aspects of Imperial questions relating to the numerous problems arising out of the war, and, though Government may not always have been able to agree with you, they regard such activities as useful and are indebted to your Association for them.

You have referred, in language of appropriate gravity, to the responsibilities of the non-official European community as the representatives in the Indian Empire of the British

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people. I welcome the attitude indicated by these sentiments. The times in which we live are full of difficult and thorny problems. There is a great awakening of self-consciousness in the ancient races among whom our lot is cast. This is largely due to the traditions of our own country and to teachings for which we ourselves are responsible. The seed we have planted is growing very rapidly and has now become a strong tree, and though we may sometimes think its growth strange, because it is not precisely the same as our own growth, yet we should regard these conditions with interest and sympathy, and the words you have used encourage the hope that your Association will not limit its activities to the pursuit of communal interests, but that you recognise that the strength of the British Empire lies not in the assertion of special privileges but rather in the ability she has so often shown in the past to understand and enter into the natural aspirations of the various peoples who form part of her wide dominions.

In the course of examining the various important questions that naturally come before them for consideration, the members of your Association must necessarily exercise judgment and discrimination and this cannot fail to have an educative and broadening effect upon their views. I am confident that these influences induce moderation and restraint and a willingness to consider both sides of a question, and that therefore in your civic relations you will always set to similar associations of other communities the high standard which may be justly expected of you.

Gentlemen, I am glad to have had this opportunity of meeting you and again thank you for the welcome you have accorded to me.

ADDRESS FROM THE MARWARI ASSOCIATION.

[*May it please Your Excellency*,—We, the members of the Marwari Association, representing the interests of the Marwari community, beg leave most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with this our humble address of welcome on the auspicious occasion of your first official visit to Calcutta as the august representative of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, our beloved Sovereign.

23rd December 1916.

With Your Excellency's permission, we take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of our deep and heartfelt devotion and loyalty to His Majesty's throne and world-wide Empire and of our constant prayer to the Almighty Giver of all good for the speedy and victorious termination of the terrible war in which the British Empire, in conformity with its glorious traditions of the past, has been engaged during these two and a half years to protect and uphold the cause of justice and righteousness, and in common with all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects we rejoice that there are clear signs visible in every direction to indicate that victory will ultimately lie on the side of the Empire of which our motherland India forms an integral part and to which we are so proud to belong.

When on the eve of the retirement of Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor the announcement was made that His Majesty had been pleased to call upon Your Excellency to rule over the destinies of his vast Indian Empire, we hailed it with the greatest gratification, as India was not even then an unknown country to Your Excellency. With your long and wide experience in statesmanship and in the affairs of men, Your Excellency has surely already, within the short period of your assumption of the Viceroyalty, mastered the problems of India, and knowing that sympathy and wisdom were the most predominant features of your administration of another part of the Empire, we feel emboldened to hope that, under Your Excellency's guidance, India will march steadily towards progress.

As a commercial people, however, we feel that the development of the natural resources of a country is one of the most essential factors in the betterment of its material condition and we therefore humbly venture to express the hope that the labours of the Royal Commission appointed at the instance of the Government of India

Address from the Marwari Association.

to investigate the question of the industrial and commercial advancement of the country will prove fruitful of good results and that with Your Excellency at the helm of affairs, the progress of His Majesty's Indian subjects in this direction will be fully assured. We also gratefully appreciate Your Excellency's decision to spend some time every year in our capital as, among the many advantages of Your Excellency's presence here, the stimulus it will afford to business is by no means the least important.

We are aware that Your Excellency's career in life elsewhere has been an unbroken chain of success. We fervently pray that your administration of the Indian Empire may add a bright and valuable link to it and that health, happiness and prosperity may always be yours in India.

In conclusion we also crave leave to extend our most respectful and cordial welcome to Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I am gratified at having this opportunity of receiving the representatives of the Marwari community in Calcutta as I have a great respect for the qualities which have raised your community to its present eminence. The spirit of enterprise which led your forefathers to migrate from their homes in Rajputana still animates you, and, having received in the course of your progress from humble beginnings sympathy and kindness from the European and other communities with whom you have come in contact, you have learnt, in a practical school, lessons of good-will and good faith.

It was with particular pleasure that I recently nominated one of your members, Rai Hari Ram Goenka Bahadur, to the high post of Sheriff of this great city. I congratulate him most heartily and hope that all success will attend him in the discharge of the duties of his office.

Address from the Marwari Association.

Your address gives me to understand that you appreciate in full measure the debt which you owe to the British Crown under which you have prospered. While I share with you the hope that the war in which our Empire is engaged may be brought before long to a successful conclusion, it is of little use disguising the fact that the end is not yet in sight and that it is only through further heavy sacrifices that the end we desire will be achieved. But it is the firm determination of the British Empire that that end shall be achieved and I am confident that your community will patiently bear all such sacrifices as may be required of it in order that the Empire beneath whose flag you have flourished so greatly may be definitely secured in the future against a recurrence of the dangers and losses which, without warning and without justification, it has been called upon to face.

Much as I appreciate the general terms in which you refer to me personally, you cannot expect me to acquiesce, even by silence, in your suggestion that I have already mastered the problems of India. No man, I think, can ever master the problems of any country. It is as much as is granted to most men to have a clear idea as to what some of the problems are. But I take it you will be satisfied with an assurance from me that I bring to the study of the problems of India the greatest eagerness to learn and the greatest sympathy with Indian aspirations. That assurance I can certainly give you.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I wish you continued prosperity and I thank you for the warmth of your welcome.

ADDRESS FROM THE BENGAL LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

23rd Decem- [The address was as follows, and read by the Maharaja of Cossim-
ber 1916. bazar.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Bengal Landholders' Association, which represents the landed class of the Presidency of Bengal, beg leave most respectfully to accord Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford our heartiest welcome on the occasion of Your Excellencies' gracious visit to this the premier city of India.

We, as representatives of a very important section of His Imperial Majesty's faithful subjects in India, beg on this occasion to offer His Majesty our sincere thanks for summoning Your Excellency to the Stewardship of this vast dependency at a time when the relations between the Commonwealth and India are taking a new turn owing to the services rendered and sacrifices made by her in the war which is at present occupying all the energies of the Empire.

Your Excellency's sound judgment, determination and the keen sense of duty which Your Excellency had to evince at a time of an acute constitutional crisis in Queensland and Your Excellency's vast and varied experience in different spheres of action in England are a sure guarantee under Providence of a very successful administration of our country. We refrain from making any reference at present to Your Excellency's many-sided activities, as the proper time to praise a public man is not when he is putting on his armour, but when he is taking it off.

We feel proud that Your Excellency does not come to the Indian shores as a perfect stranger, but rather as a friend who has had the advantage of being in India for nearly eighteen months before coming here as her Viceroy and Governor-General.

We feel highly honoured by Your Excellency's kind decision to stay in this city for a comparatively long time which is a unique compliment paid to our province, and we fervently pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to bless our province with similar visits every year during Your Excellency's stay in India.

In conclusion, we assure Your Excellency of our whole-hearted support and sincere co-operation in the administration of this country

Address from the Bengal Landholders' Association.

and we offer to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford our best wishes for health and happiness during your stay in India.

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have this opportunity of speaking to the representatives of the great landed class of the Presidency of Bengal. You are a specially favoured community in that the land revenue payable on your estates was permanently assessed in 1793, and the unearned increment, of which in the greater part of India the State takes its share, is in Bengal secured to the Zemindars. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remind you that special privileges carry corresponding duties, and that the principle "*noblesse oblige*" applies with special force to the possessors of large inherited estates; but I feel very strongly that one of the most pressing needs of India is the uplifting of the actual tiller of the soil. A small but devoted body of workers in the Agricultural Department is studying the problems of Indian Agriculture in the light of the most recent scientific discoveries and striving to find a means of making two blades of grass grow where one grew before. There is such a vast field to be covered that progress must necessarily be slow; but that progress can be greatly facilitated and accelerated by the co-operation of large landlords, who are in a position not only to demonstrate to their tenants the advantage of improved methods, but also to treat them liberally in the matter of rent, and to give them material assistance in putting the teachings of science to practical use. An instance of the valuable help, in the form of practical demonstration, which landowners can afford is furnished by the seed farm established near Lucknow by the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, who has set an example of enterprise and public spirit which will, I trust, be followed in other Provinces.

Address from Bengal Mahajan Sabha.

Bengal is throbbing with new aspirations and ideals, and with her eyes on the horizon she may perhaps be in danger of overlooking the obstacles that lie just before her feet. Not the least of those obstacles is the backward state of the cultivator, and you landowners have it in your power largely to promote or retard his advancement.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the friendly terms in which your address is couched and to give you my thanks, and to convey to you those of Lady Chelmsford, for the cordial sentiments you have expressed.

ADDRESS FROM BENGAL MAHAJAN SABHA.

23rd Decem-
ber 1916.

[The address was as follows :

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha, beg most respectfully to accord to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford, on the occasion of your second visit to the city of Calcutta after your assumption of the exalted but onerous office of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, a most cordial and hearty welcome.

2. Although Europe is unfortunately still convulsed by a devastating war which has drawn into its vortex the mightiest Entente Powers of the world bound up in a sacred alliance in a sacred cause for the triumph of liberty and righteousness over brutality and force, it is gratifying to note that the political firmament of India is on the whole almost serene and tranquil. It is no exaggeration to say that the people of India have, during this world-wide conflict, cheerfully put their shoulders to the wheel and demonstrated their unswerving loyalty and attachment to the Throne by their acts as well as their utterances and we fervently pray for a speedy and triumphant conclusion of the war. We take this opportunity to express our humble appreciation of the sound judgment, generous sympathies, and consummate statesmanship of your illustrious predecessor in harmonising

Address from Bengal Mahajan Sabha.

the conflicting interests of the teeming millions of India and upholding the best traditions of British Rule which is broad-based upon the affections and willing allegiance of the people.

3. We feel that Your Excellency's exalted office in the present international crisis in Europe is one full of exceptional cares, anxieties and burdens and demands a continuity of the policy of sympathy and conciliation which was inaugurated by Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor, and the exercise of the same tact and administrative abilities which have characterised Your Excellency's successful colonial administration. We do not however feel justified in embarrassing Your Excellency by putting forward any schemes of internal reforms calculated to distract your attention, but we feel confident that the question of the economic, industrial and commercial development of this country which has received an impetus under the beneficent administration of Lord Carmichael will receive Your Excellency's fostering care. We however crave Your Excellency's indulgence to emphasise the necessity of improving the natural waterways of Bengal constituting as they do the main avenues of trade and commerce, and we venture to hope that the question of commercial and sanitary education will receive Your Excellency's closest attention. Your Excellency's following utterances in the House of Lords expressing yourself as "Unduly saturated with democratic ideas after eight years in Australia" are sufficient to inspire us with hope and foreshadow Your Excellency's future policy of sympathy and beneficence in India. We fully realise that upon the permanence of British rule in India depends our future prosperity and welfare and the realisation of those legitimate aspirations which have been awakened in us by the dissemination of high education which is justly regarded as one of the many blessings of British rule in India. In conclusion we take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that our community like others will never be found wanting in upholding their traditional loyalty and attachment to their beloved Sovereign and that they are fully prepared to share the burdens and make the sacrifices which are justly demanded of them.

4. May the Almighty Providence shower His choicest blessings upon Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford, and give you long life

Address from Bengal Mahajan Sabha.

and prosperity is the earnest and sincere prayer of Your Excellency's most obedient servants.

The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I must express my warm appreciation, and also that of Lady Chelmsford, for the welcome you extend to us.

Your Association voices the needs of an important community, and you represent interests the furthering of which is vital to the advancement of Bengal. Out of consideration for myself, in view of the pressing matters of State which must, during the continuance of war, receive the fullest share possible of the attention of Government, you have not specifically urged any very definite needs upon my notice, though you have in general terms invoked my good offices on behalf of the improvement of the natural waterways of Bengal and in extending commercial and sanitary education.

It is only natural that some of the numerous addresses received by me this morning should cover the same ground, or at least overlap, and, in regard to the question of waterways and of commercial education, I must refer you to the replies I have given this morning to the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

In the matter of sanitary education, want of funds—a want which I fear will not be supplied until the restoration of peace puts us in a position to estimate our financial resources—has delayed action on the report of the Committee appointed in 1913; but, as an experimental measure, instruction in hygiene and sanitation with special reference to the prevention and cure of malaria is now being given in high schools and first-grade training schools. This is an important step on the course you indicate. The amelioration

Address from the Bengal Presidency Moslem League.

of sanitary conditions must be one of the chief aims of all forms of civilised government, but I would emphasise my conviction that it is to the gradual enlightenment of women, who are mainly responsible for the conditions prevailing in home life, that we must look for any substantial improvement in all matters of domestic environment and hygiene.

In conclusion, I must thank you for your good wishes and for your sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties and anxieties which must necessarily weigh heavily upon my office in time of war. Nothing is more inspiring to me in the discharge of my duties than the loyal assurances which reach me on all sides from the people of India. The interests of the particular community which you represent would be jeopardised by any movements from without or from within which menaced the stability of British Rule, but loyalty springs from impulses more generous than mere self-interest and I am glad to think that the address which you have read is inspired by feelings of goodwill towards the established government and of genuine attachment to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

**ADDRESS FROM THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY MOSLEM
LEAGUE.**

[The address read by Nawab Ali Chaudhuri was as follows :—

23rd Decem-
ber 1916.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, on behalf of ourselves and of the community we have the honour to represent, beg leave to offer Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford a most sincere, hearty and respectful welcome on this occasion of the first visit of Your Excellencies to this historic city.

Address from the Bengal Presidency Moslem League.

Your Excellency has been called upon to assume the reins of office at a time when the disastrous war now raging in Europe has cast a gloom over the entire civilised world, and when the task of a Viceroy is beset with uncommon and unprecedented difficulties. Never before in the history of this important Dependency could there have been a greater need for India to play her part as an integral unit of a world-encircling Empire. We rejoice to find that, while the Indian armies have won coveted laurels even under unaccustomed and trying conditions in distant lands, the Mussalmans of India together with other communities have given unmistakeable proofs of their steadfast loyalty to the British Crown in this crisis. We fervently pray to the Almighty Disposer of events to bring hostilities to a speedy termination, so as to enable Your Excellency to devote your great powers of administration to the continued progress and development of India. The reputation which Your Excellency has already earned as an administrator leads us to hope that your rule in India will mark an epoch in its history.

Representing as we do, an important community with a historic past, occupying a position of unique political importance in this country, it is our duty to lay before Your Excellency the claims and just aspirations of the Mussalmans of India and specially of Bengal. We realise that the present is not a suitable occasion for approaching Your Excellency with any representations in these matters. We feel that when the war is over and the din of conflict has died away in a lasting peace beneficial to humanity and civilization, we will have better opportunities for representing our needs and requirements.

In conclusion, we pray to the All-Merciful Providence to keep Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford in His safe keeping, and to grant Your Excellency health and strength to carry on the administration of this country so as to make it a glorious record of unbroken success.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your welcome and for the expressions of goodwill contained in your address.

Address from the Bengal Presidency Moslem League.

My reply to you can only be of a formal character as you have, from considerations which I much appreciate, deliberately refrained from raising questions affecting the special interests of your community—questions which I should not find it easy to deal with in an adequate manner in times such as these when the shadow of war limits our sphere of action and when the united energies of our Empire must be devoted to the main task of overcoming our enemies.

But I would say this—that I fully realise the great importance of the community you represent, and appreciate some of those disabilities under which you appear to have laboured in the past. I sympathise with your endeavour to make up ground which you have lost and your eagerness to draw level with your competitors in preparation for the battle of life. Your community has produced many great and far-sighted leaders—men who have subordinated their personal ambitions to the common good, and so long as the Muhammadans of Bengal continue to produce such men there need be little fear that you will not play your part with credit in the vast field of opportunity on the borders of which I feel confident India is now standing. Let me assure you that your interests will not be forgotten and that through allegiance to the British Crown you will secure your hopes of advancement.

In my reply to the Central Muhammadan National Association this morning I had something to say in regard to the special difficulties which confront the Muhammadan community in India at the present time. I will content myself by referring you to those remarks without repeating them.

Address from the Indian Association.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the helpful attitude you have adopted and once again acknowledge the friendly welcome you have given me.

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

23rd Decem- [Mr. S. N. Banerji, representing the Indian Association, read the
ber 1916. following address :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Indian Association of Calcutta, venture to approach Your Excellency with this address of welcome on this occasion of your visit to the capital of our Province, which not long ago was the capital of the Indian Empire.

We desire to assure Your Excellency of our unswerving loyalty and our deep and fervent devotion to the throne and the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor and of our firm determination to stand by the Empire in the present crisis.

2. We are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for the permission granted for the formation of a Bengali Double Company. It is our hope and prayer that it may be the starting point of a series of ameliorative measures which, under Your Excellency's beneficent administration, will remove all distinctions between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects in the Empire and vindicate our status as equal subjects of the Crown which has been guaranteed to us by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria and endorsed by the highest authorities, and now strengthened by the proved loyalty and devotion of the Princes and people of India and their splendid services during the war.

3. We deplore the anarchical crimes which represent a passing state of things confined to a handful of men, and which having their roots in political and economic causes will, we are confident, disappear with the adoption of healing measures stimulating our material prosperity and diffusing broadcast the blessings of restfulness and contentment.

4. We are grateful to Your Excellency for the declaration that Your Excellency will continue the policy and principles which distinguished the administration of your illustrious predecessor. Your

Address from the Indian Association.

Excellency is the friend of Local Self-Government and has been associated with its working in the Metropolis of the Empire. We look forward with confidence under Your Excellency's administration to an expansion of this system culminating in the control of local affairs being entirely vested in the representatives of the people. In Bengal, thanks to the statesman-like initiative given by His Excellency Lord Carmichael, a long forward step has been taken in this direction.

5. As British subjects, we note with proud satisfaction that a distinct turn in the tide has taken place and that the Allies are within measurable distance of victory. We are in sight of the end of this terrible struggle and the question of the readjustment of the Empire will soon after the conclusion of peace come up for consideration. We appeal to Your Excellency as the august head of the Indian Government and the official spokesman of the Indian people to secure for India her legitimate place in the Imperial system which will be consistent with her growing self-respect and self-consciousness and will gratify the aspirations which English education and culture have created. Self-Government within the Empire is the watchword of modern India. Provincial autonomy, the first step towards Self-Government, has been promised to us by the Despatch of the 25th August 1911. What that Despatch means has been clearly explained by its great author, Lord Hardinge himself. May we be permitted to express the fervent hope that, in the coming readjustment, India, to quote the words of the late Viceroy, will find a place in the Imperial system, not as a dependant, but as a partner ?

In conclusion, it is our fervent hope and prayer that the blessing of Almighty Providence may rest upon those arduous labours which lie before Your Excellency in the government of this vast Empire, that Your Excellency's rule may leave its beneficent marks upon the annals of Indian progress, and that, when the time comes for Your Excellency to lay down the reins of your exalted office, it may be amid the grateful acclaim of a happy, prosperous and contented people drawn closer to the Crown and the Empire by the ties of contentment and gratitude.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the welcome you give to me and warmly appreciate the expressions of loyalty to the

Address from the Indian Association.

King-Emperor and of attachment to the Empire which find a place in your address.

You deplore the anarchical crimes which have of recent years constituted such a blot upon the fair name of Bengal. I welcome that sentiment and gladly recognize that the heart of the great mass of the people is sound, but this cancerous growth exists, and if it is only a passing state of things, as you suggest, it is taking a good many years to pass. Nor can I see at present any visible symptoms of natural decay. We have, I am thankful to say, been able seriously to check its progress, and this is largely due to the courage and skill of those members of the police service who have had the unpleasant task of dealing with this particular form of crime. They are mainly your own countrymen and their gallantry fills me with admiration and constitutes an example of which every Bengali may well be proud. In the interests of the peace and quiet of India it has been necessary to deprive a number of the conspirators of their liberty, but you may feel sure that this action has not been taken on mere suspicion but on a firm assurance of their guilty participation. Your Governor, His Excellency Lord Carmichael, has personally investigated each case and in those rare cases which have come to me I have always myself examined the papers with great care.

I am here in India on behalf of His Majesty to do all that lies in my power to forward the peace, prosperity and happiness of this great country, and to me, at any rate, it is clear that steady progress along the path of political development is one of the roads along which the happiness of India lies. But you may take it as certain that the prevalence of anarchical crime will not be regarded as a ground for political

Address from the Indian Association.

progress ; on the contrary, the task of Government is beset with difficulty so long as those who wield power at home can point to this festering sore.

Your Governor, who has earned a high place in your esteem and in whose wisdom I have from an acquaintance of many years the greatest confidence, has pointed out to you clearly the seriousness of this evil. I have noticed in your press that some of you ask what you can do to help in this matter. In answer I would impress on you in your interests, as well as in those of the Government, that a more prominent place be given in your press and on your platforms to the vigorous denunciation of these crimes. I confidently believe that if you could succeed in cultivating a sense of disapproval at the propaganda of anarchy, you would cut off at its source the streamlet of recruits which alone gives the movement any vitality. I have been for 16 years interested in the education and training of young men and my heart bleeds to see promising youths, whom their country sadly needs for her social and economic development, perverted at their most impressionable age by misguided men. I hope later at the University Convocation to appeal to University men on this important subject.

Your reference to local self-government brings to notice a class of interesting and difficult questions which have from time to time attracted the serious attention of Government and to which I have already devoted not a little time and consideration since I arrived in this country. Shortly after I had taken over charge of my office, I had to deal with a new Act for the reconstitution of municipal government in the United Provinces—an Act which, as I stated in addressing the Legislative Council at Simla, marks a very real and

Address from the Indian Association.

important step in the direction of self-government in local affairs. There is also, as you are aware, a Bill under preparation for the improvement of the municipal administration in your own city of Calcutta, and the opportunity will be taken in this Bill to deal with a number of important subjects of special interest to the inhabitants of this city. The Bill will, I hope, before very long be published, and it will receive full discussion in your Legislative Council. In the meantime, I may be permitted to say that, having, as you point out, been associated for some time with the working of municipal government in London, I shall always watch with particular interest and concern the improvement of local administration and the development of local self-government in the various provinces, and more specially in the Presidency towns, of this country.

You speak with confidence of the approaching end of the terrible struggle in which the Allies are now engaged, but though the end is certain, the conflict is still bound to be long and deadly. Our enemy is in desperate straits, but his spirit is not yet broken, and until it is, we cannot hope to secure guarantees for the future freedom and peace of the world. We cannot yet afford to talk about peace.

But these preoccupations do not and will not prevent the Government of India from giving their earnest attention to the problems of this great Empire. The growing self-respect and self-consciousness of her people are plants that we ourselves have watered, and if the blossom is not always what we expect, it is not for us to blame the plant. There are doubtless some of you who think our footsteps halting and our progress slow, but I should be dishonest if I held out any hope that progress will be rapid. Neither the

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British constitution nor the British temperament is fond of catastrophic changes, nor are such changes consistent with development on sound and healthy lines. Progress should be steady and sure, and in regard to it I believe that my views are in close harmony with those of my predecessor who was so happy as to win the confidence of India, and, using Lord Hardinge's words, I hope some day to see India hold a position of equality amongst the sister nations of which the British Empire is composed. In this respect, Gentlemen, I earnestly invite your co-operation. You will thus help me to realize the friendly wishes for the success of my period of office to which you have been so good as to give expression in your address.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[The annual Convocation of the Calcutta University was held in the 6th January afternoon of the 6th January in the Town Hall. His Excellency the Viceroy, the Chancellor, presided. 1917.]

Besides graduates and fellows of the University there was a large gathering which included Lord Carmichael, Rector, Lady Chelmsford, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Education Member, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Sir Thomas Holland, and the members of the Governor's Executive Council.

After His Excellency, the Chancellor, had declared the Convocation open Dr. Dava Prasad Sarbadhicary, the Vice-Chancellor, presented diplomas to the new graduates. Among the recipients of degrees were 309 M.A.'s, 1,727 B.A.'s, one D.Sc., 88 M. Sc.'s, 366 B.Sc.'s, 74 B.T.'s, one D.L., two M.L.'s, 283 B.L.'s, two M.D.'s, 87 M.B.'s and six B.E.'s. There were fifteen lady graduates, all of whom obtained B.A. degrees.

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His Excellency in declaring the Convocation open spoke as follows :—]

I am delighted to have this opportunity of meeting you as your Chancellor. For six months and more I have been receiving files of papers relating to Calcutta University, and, for all that I knew of your University life, it might have been a University in the moon, merely a geographical expression with no human note to relieve the aridity of the subject. I have attempted during this past week to make some acquaintance with your life. I have visited hostels and messes and seen something of the conditions under which you spend your University days. I am not so rash as to assert that I have thereby become acquainted with your problems, but I have had an introduction to them. Personally I believe in all cases in making acquaintance with the human factor. Where difficulties arise, in 99 cases out of a hundred it is not the machinery which is at fault, but the difficulties have arisen through an imperfect acquaintance and want of sympathy with the human element. And so during my short stay in these parts I have endeavoured to study the University not as a machine with its rules and regulations, its faculties, its matriculation, its examinations and its degrees, but as a great society with its life, its hopes and fears, its ideals and aspirations.

I should like then to-day, in the few remarks I have to make, to speak more particularly to the students not as Viceroy nor as Chancellor with a policy to propound, but rather as one University man to other University men.

I have been 18 years of age, though I am afraid it is a long time ago. I have dreamed dreams and I have seen visions and I have not forgotten them. I have every sympathy therefore

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with those who are stirred by causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm. No one forgets the first fine careless rapture of University life, the contact with the larger world, the realisation that there are bigger things than he dreamt of in his former narrow surroundings, and when he leaves he bears for weal or woe the University stamp indelibly impressed upon him. You remember Omar Khayam —

“Myself when young did eagerly frequent

“Doctor and Saint and heard great argument

“But evermore came out by that same door

“Where in I went.”

This is not and cannot be true of University life. We leave by a very different door from that by which we entered ; if not, we should have little use for Universities in the life of the Community or that of the State.

What then do we look for from you as a result of your University life ?

First.—That you should come out with your character formed and strengthened and that that character should be no unworthy one ; and next

That you should come out men ready to take up the duties of citizenship and play your part in the common life.

In short, men with character and purpose. As I look back to my University days I believe even as undergraduates we dimly held by these two ideas — Character and the responsibility of Citizenship. For us it was largely a matter of tradition. On the walls of our Colleges we could see the portraits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We took in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk.

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For you the task is a harder one. Your University is still young and though you have had distinguished *alumni* in the past and you have them in the present, your tradition is not yet one of centuries. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on. It was not for nothing that that great educational statesman, William of Wykeham, gave as the motto of his great school Winchester 500 years ago "Manners Makyth Man"—"Manners" not in the superficial sense of to-day, but in the older sterner sense of the *Latine mores*, character. He did not leave it to his successors to evolve the note which his school should strike. He struck it once and for all time, and subsequent generations have bowed before his prescience, and marvelled at his insight into the heart of all education. And you, with the innate imagination of your race, can visualise this objective for yourselves more quickly than we of a Western stock. I have no doubt then that you will accept this first objective of your University life.

Let me turn to the second. Each generation has its particular call and for you in these days I believe the call has come to do something for the education of your country and the improvement of its material welfare. I am fully aware of the difficulties. Only the other day I asked a law student why he was taking up law with all its risks and disappointments. He answered, What else is there for me to take up?

I am not going to discuss his answer though it gives cause to think, but this I will say. It is my sincere hope and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour by all means in our power to open up other avenues of employment. So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions, so long shall we get congestion

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and overcrowding in those professions with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent. Our policy then is first to secure that there shall be as many opportunities of a livelihood as possible open to the educated classes and next to endeavour to divert the students into channels other than those of law and Government clerical employ.

I hope and believe that we shall be able to do so. Don't imagine that I promise the millennium for to-morrow or the next day ; if we can lay the foundation of a policy which will increase the spheres of employment and at the same time switch off the overflowing stream of students into new channels of instruction, we shall at least have done something to remedy what is admittedly a very serious state of things. Take, for instance, the great profession of teaching. At the present time it is only regarded as a form of employment which will keep the wolf from the door until briefs come in or some other permanent occupation be secured. This is not as it should be. The profession of teaching is a great and honourable profession and it should engage the whole attention of those who follow it. But this is not likely to be the case so long as teachers are paid an inadequate wage. If we are to divert students on to this road, we must increase the pay and opportunities of our teachers and magnify the status of the teaching profession.

Again, India is asking for Industrial and Commercial opportunities for her sons. The Commission which is now sitting will, I hope, give us an answer which will enable us to secure this end. It will then be our duty so to train our students that when those opportunities are within their reach, they shall be capable of grasping them.

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The call then to your generation is, I believe, to educate your people and to improve their material welfare. For my part, I promise you that I shall do all that is in my power to enable you to answer that call. And is it not a great call? Each one of you who takes up the profession of Teacher as a sacred calling,—and the Teacher who regards his work as sacred has a great place in your history,—will have the Teacher's reward of knowing that he has raised his disciples out of the slough of ignorance and has made life full of meaning for them. And for those of you who throw in your lot with the industrial and commercial development of your country, apart from the material prizes which will be yours to win, there will be the vision of an India emerging from a life of bare subsistence to a life with a higher standard of living and of comfort.

I turn now to the problem of the University itself. The nearer one approaches it, the more difficult, the more complicated, does it appear. Its immensity; the fact that the University is situated in the centre of a vast city; the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time; and the demand of what we hope will be a great commercial and industrial development, all call for serious consideration. Shortly before the war I had occasion, in connection with my work on the London County Council, to study the needs of London and the report of the London University Commission. It seems to me that *mutatis mutandis* the problems of Calcutta and its University run on very similar lines; and as in London it was imperative, if the University was to fill its place in the life of the community, to institute an enquiry of a very comprehensive and searching character, so too in Calcutta I believe an enquiry of the same nature is likely to be fruitful of good

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results. We all desire that the education given here should be of the highest and best quality, and should proceed on the soundest educational lines. In London the Government of the day realised that the problem was too vast and complicated for executive action, so they appointed a Commission of very great strength presided over by Lord Haldane, and the result was a report which *omnium consensu* is of the highest educational value. Unfortunately the War has intervened and the recommendations in the Report have had to remain in abeyance.

We, as the Government of India, have very carefully considered the situation with regard to Calcutta University and we have come to the conclusion that a small but strong Commission, appointed to sit next cold weather, on similar lines and with terms of reference following those of the London University Commission, is a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy in relation to your problems, and we have every hope that a Commission so appointed may give us a report of equal educational value. I approached Lord Haldane and asked him if he would be willing to preside over this Commission, but he has replied that, while nothing would have given him greater pleasure, he is so deeply engaged in judicial and educational work that acceptance is impossible.

I am determined, however, that, so far as in me lies, the composition of this Commission shall be of the strongest possible character on the educational side, and that educational qualifications shall be alone considered. I am hoping to get as many as three educational experts from England to advise us, and local representatives will of course also have a place on the Commission of whom the same qualifications will be required. Educational problems should be considered with

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a single eye to educational efficiency and that has been, and will be, my sole thought in the establishment of this Commission and in its composition.

As I told you at the outset of my address, I visited last week some of your hostels and messes, and I was struck by the excellent educational material which was there. It must be our care that these young men receive the very best education on the soundest lines that we can give. In this policy I feel sure that I shall have the cordial assent and co-operation of the University and the people of Bengal. As one long connected with education and as your Chancellor I am anxious that educational questions should be approached from the purely educational standpoint and that our sole objective should be educational efficiency. I believe that a Commission instituted, as I have indicated, will best secure this end.

One other topic. It has been frequently urged that the time has come for the Government of Bengal to take the place of the Government of India, and the Governor to take the place of the Viceroy in the constitution of the University. Since I assumed office I have been very conscious of the grave inconvenience of the distance which separates the University from its Chancellor and the Government of India. It is impossible for us to have that close and intimate knowledge of your affairs which only residence on the spot can give. But I do not think that the moment when we are setting up this Commission, whose recommendations we shall have to consider, is the moment for such a change. As soon as the Commission has reported and action has been taken on its report, that will be the moment when the Governor and Government of Bengal may well take over charge.

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor, it has been a great pleasure to have been brought into personal touch with the University during my visit. Believe me I regard my connection with you very seriously, and during my term as your Chancellor I hope that the personal relations between us may grow closer and deeper. I trust that you, your Professors and your students will feel that in their present Chancellor they have one who will at all times take the liveliest personal interest in them and in their welfare.

I realise to the full the high place that the University holds in the hearts of Calcutta and of the people of Bengal. As Your Chancellor I entertain the hope that one result of this Commission will be to make you even more proud of your University.

CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

[A conference of Directors of Public Instruction was held in Delhi on the 22nd January. His Excellency the Viceroy presided and there were present the following Directors and others. Messrs. Stone, Godley, Jennings, Covernton, de la Fosse, Cunningham, Mayhew, Hornell and Richey, Directors of Public Instruction, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Edward MacLagan, Messrs. Sharp and Anderson of the Government of India. 22nd January 1917.]

His Excellency in opening the conference, said :—]

Gentlemen,—I do not propose to do more than offer you a few words of welcome on the occasion of your meeting together and briefly touch on the various matters which are going to engage your attention. I should like in the first place to emphasise the publicity of your proceedings.

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Education is not a subject to be wrapped up in mystery and discussed behind closed doors. We wish to awaken an intelligent interest and active co-operation on the part of the general public and we can only do this by taking them completely into our confidence. Above all we must remove the idea that we have any ulterior motives behind our educational policy. In my speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University I laid stress on educational questions being dealt with on educational lines with a single eye to educational efficiency. I hope this open conference will show that this is the case and that no political considerations find a place in your discussion of purely educational problems.

There is a further circumstance to be borne in mind in this connection. It is all important to enlist the interest and sympathy of the general public in the matter of education. Those of you who have had experience of English conditions will remember the widespread indifference of the general public to educational questions. The lessons of this war may, to some extent, correct this attitude, but we want equally in India to bring home to people generally the paramount importance of education in their lives and I think nothing is better calculated to quicken the public interest than open conferences from time to time, which will show the importance which the Government of India attach to education.

It may be said that this conference partakes of a purely official character. I would point out, however, that in the resolution of the 21st February, 1913, the general lines of our educational activities were laid down, after the public had been taken into our confidence at three conferences attended

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by many non-officials. If it was a question of revising radically the policy already laid down we should undoubtedly have invited the help of some of the many non-officials who interest themselves in education. But for the present we are, in the main, confronted by problems in which expert official assistance is primarily required.

Owing to the war it is now necessary for us to select what we can afford to adhere to and to decide what we can with least disadvantage postpone. This is largely a matter in which expert advice is necessary, the advice of men who administer funds and who are accustomed from day to day to select between the good and the better. There is then no question of springing any new and startling educational policy upon an unsuspecting public. Indeed, our task in India at the present moment seems to be rather to examine and make sure of our foundations. We are all in agreement that primary education should be further extended. I take that as common ground. But schools depend for their efficiency on the quality of their teachers and inefficient schools represent so much good money thrown away. I would press upon you, then, in the first place concentration on the teaching problem. We want, as I said lately in Calcutta, to raise the status of the teaching profession, to make it a calling with prizes which will induce men to enter it as a life profession. For this we must raise the pay of the teachers. Much has, no doubt, been done in recent years to raise the pay of teachers, but I would ask you to consider whether the pay given now, and more especially the minimum pay, is adequate.

As one who had the task of tackling this particular problem in London some thirteen years ago I know the difficulties

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of the question and the need there is for careful preliminary investigation. Having got your teacher your next task will be to train him, and it is impossible, I think, to overestimate the value of training. At the present moment out of 267,000 teachers in India you have only 80,000 who have undergone a course of training. Even if the percentage were higher I would still urge the paramount importance of training. The quality of the teacher is the alpha and omega of educational efficiency.

One last word on this topic. You have secured your teacher and you have trained him. It remains for you to keep him. There can be, I think, no better way of building up a permanent service than by the establishment of a provident or pension fund scheme whose benefits are sacrificed by premature retirement. I hope that the scheme which was evolved some three years ago and which is still under consideration may meet the end which we have in view.

I turn now to the second main subject of your discussion—Technical training. Naturally at the present moment when the Government of India are hoping for a lead from the Industrial Commission in the direction of industrial development technical training looms large in the educational sphere. There are two things I would wish to say with regard to this question. First consider “technical” in its widest and not its narrowest sense; by this I mean do not overlook the claims of agricultural and commercial education. There are some who say we have nothing to teach the men on the land in this country. I cannot claim to talk with authority on such a question, but having seen something of the work of scientific agriculture in other parts of the

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world I take leave to doubt such a statement. The great advance made by scientific agriculture during the last half century justifies us in pressing forward with a policy of agricultural education and, though you would not claim to speak as experts on the agricultural side, your educational experience qualifies you to give us useful hints with regard to an advance along this road.

Again, on the commercial side of education I am surprised to find how little has been done, in spite of India's large and growing commerce, and I am puzzled as to its cause. It may be that it is obvious to you, but I have not yet had any satisfactory explanation given to me. Compared with a technical institution a commercial school is a relatively cheap institution and one would think that there was a great opening in our big towns for good commercial schools.

The second point on which I would lay emphasis is that in technical training in its narrower sense we must not lose sight of workshop practice in outside works. Laboratory training, however good, is no real substitute for the discipline of the workshop. I am well aware of the difficulties which stand in the path and I merely strike this note of warning, that technical training divorced from workshop experience is likely to prove a snare and a delusion.

The subject of women's education is going to engage your attention. You are more familiar than I with the obstacles arising out of social custom which stand in the way, but I would say this, that I view with apprehension the growing inequality between men and women arising out of difference in education. It cannot be good for a country that its women should lag so far behind men in this matter

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of education. I believe that this apprehension is shared by many Indians and I think it behoves us to do all in our power to improve women's education so far as we can do so within the limits laid down for us by social customs. In the meantime we must look to and hope for a gradual change in public opinion and in this we can count, I hope, on the support and co-operation of all educated Indians. I trust, however, that in the consideration of this most important matter we shall enlist the co-operation of women. It is they who know where the shoe pinches and any purely man-made scheme is foredoomed to failure.

There is one more matter with regard to which I should like to say a few words. I am fully aware that it is highly controversial and that it has more than once been the subject of discussion, but it lies so deep in the foundations of our education that I think it well to bring the matter forward, especially at a time when our task is, as I have said above, to examine and consolidate our educational foundation. I refer to the relative claims of English and Vernacular teaching. At the present moment we rely on English as the medium of our higher instruction. This is due mainly to the fact that English is the passport to employment and that Vernacular text-books are not available. But the consequence is obvious, students endeavour to grapple with abstruse subjects through the medium of a foreign tongue and in many cases through their mediocre acquaintance with that tongue have perforce to memorise their text-books. We criticise adversely this tendency to memorise, but, to my mind, it reflects credit on the zeal of the students who, rather than abandon their quest for knowledge, commit to memory whole pages, nay, whole books, which they understand but

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imperfectly. This is of course a mere travesty of education.

I had an opportunity the other day of conversing with a prominent Indian gentleman on this very subject and he told me his personal experience. When he was at the University he took up History as one of his subjects and found, though he is an admirable English scholar now, that his acquaintance with English was insufficient to enable him to understand his text-book, so he resolved to memorise the whole book. In the course of his examination he had a question, the answer to which he knew lay in a certain page, but he was uncertain what portion of the page was relevant, so, *ex abundanti cautela*, he wrote out the whole page. For this he obtained fewer marks than he thought he was entitled to. On remonstrating with the examiner he was told that his answer contained so much irrelevant matter that it was clear that he did not rightly comprehend the question. I think this piece of evidence illustrates the defects of our present system.

I would ask you, and I ask myself, as university men how should we have fared in our education if it had been wholly through the medium of a foreign tongue? I doubt whether we would not have abandoned the attempt in despair and I am lost in admiration for the grit of those boys who make a gallant attempt to surmount the difficulties imposed on them by a vicious system.

The remedy seems to me to lie in one of two directions, either we must teach in the Vernacular as long as we can, and put off to the latest possible moment the use of English as a medium of instruction, or we must concentrate our

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attention more closely on the teaching of English. Or can any middle course be suggested which is sound on educational lines? I understand that it was arranged some two years ago in the Legislative Council that Local Governments should be addressed on this subject generally when the war is over. I have no intention of bringing up the question for decision in advance of the time so arranged, but I wish it to receive thoughtful consideration without bias so that when the time comes not only will you have discussed and thought over it in your own provinces and be ready to give us your opinions, but the best minds in India will also be equally ready with their opinion.

In conclusion, may I express my appreciation of the difficult and exacting duties which the modern development of education entails for a Director of Public Instruction in this country. It is not merely that work has increased much in volume. That is no doubt the case, but with the increase in volume has come a still greater increase in complexity. You are dealing, too, with a subject on which almost every educated man is himself interested and you are subjected to an almost overwhelming amount of outside advice and outside criticism; you have to deal with large bodies of men who are in no way subject to your control and whom you can influence only by perseverance. You have often to support a line of action which, however it may commend itself to you as experts, has failed to find favour with those whom it affects. For the fulfilment of your duties you require unlimited enthusiasm, unfailing courtesy and unflinching resolution. These qualities have been displayed by Directors in the past and will, I trust, continue to be displayed by them in the future.

Address of Welcome from Taluqdars of Oudh.

India owes much to the Directors of Public Instruction and to the fine service which they represent; and although the work you have to do may become more complex and more difficult, you will, I am sure, continue to maintain the qualities of your predecessors and the tradition of your service.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM TALUQDARS OF OUDEH.

[A representative deputation of the Taluqdars of Oudh waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi on the 25th January and presented him with an address of welcome. Among those present were the Maharaja of Balrampur, President, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Sardar Nihal Singh, Raja Sir Harnam Singh. 25th January 1917.

The Maharaja of Balrampur read the following address:—

We, the Taluqdars of Oudh, warmly welcome Your Lordship and Lady Chelmsford to this ancient country. It has given us great pleasure that our Sovereign has chosen as his Viceroy Your Excellency, whose affections for the country are many generations old.

We take advantage of this meeting, Your Excellency, to assure you of our unswerving loyalty to our Emperor. We are a large community of landlords, composed of old families with ancient traditions, who have always taken a keen interest in the welfare of our province and the country and have given their whole-hearted support to the Government and its policy of steady progress. The Government has always treated our community and its opinion with great consideration and we trust that we will continue to enjoy the same confidence of Your Excellency's Government.

Your Excellency assumed the administration of the country at a critical moment in the history of the Empire. She is carrying on a war on an unprecedented scale to protect the liberties of the world against an unscrupulous enemy that adopts every foul means to attain his object. This war has, however, once more demonstrated the unshakable unity of the Empire and her unlimited resources in men

Address of Welcome from Taluqdars of Oudh.

and material and that she stands as one solid mass against a common foe. At present the Empire's paramount idea is to win the war and we pray to the Almighty to grant us a speedy and honourable victory. But when that is accomplished many intricate problems in the affairs of the Empire will demand the most anxious and earnest consideration of her best minds. India will need all the sympathies of Your Excellency to advocate her cause when the affairs of the Empire are taken in hand for readjustment after the war.

The province we represent has made rapid progress during the last decade. Education, sanitation and public works have all received the careful attention of its distinguished and sympathetic Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Meston, and his predecessors in office and we, as its natural leaders, have done our best to encourage all progressive movements. The Canning College, called after the names of one of Your Excellency's famous predecessors, and many other public institutions were founded, and are maintained by us. We have also built the Colvin Taluqdars' School on the model of an English public school where our sons are receiving modern education to befit them for their proper position in society.

In conclusion, we hope that at no distant date we will have the pleasure of welcoming Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford at Lucknow, our capital. It is a beautiful city and its beauty grows day by day. Last year's deplorable flood caused great destruction to its buildings, but now healthy dwelling houses, arranged on the principle of modern town-planning, are springing up out of the ruins of old insanitary ones.

We feel we cannot finish without thanking Your Excellency for having nominated as a Member of your Council our large-hearted Commissioner, Sir Verney Lovett, whose greatest interest in life is to help the people of India and in whose heart our community has a special place.

His Excellency in reply said :—]

Taluqdars of Oudh,—I will first express on behalf of myself and Lady Chelmsford our sincere thanks for the kind terms in which you have welcomed us and I share with you

Address of Welcome from Taluqdars of Oudh.

the hope that at some future date it may be possible for me to meet you at your beautiful capital of Lucknow. Your old friend, Sir James Meston, has told me much of your record of loyalty and I have read with interest of the loyal assistance which you have given to Government both in times of peace and in times of trouble.

You have rightly said that, when we have accomplished our common purpose of bringing this terrible war to a victorious conclusion, it will remain to solve the many Imperial problems with which we shall be faced. In no part of the Empire will these problems require more anxious thought than in India. I regard the advice and co-operation of the aristocratic landholding class you represent in your province as essential to a solution on sane and progressive lines.

You have laid stress upon the unity of the British Empire which has been so strikingly demonstrated in the present war and to the solid basis of our confidence in ultimate victory. Our enemies were quick to realise that it was essential for their purposes to sow discord, both within the Empire and between us and our Allies, and their failure in this direction has been, perhaps, the most signal disappointment that they have suffered. We may all derive a lesson from these facts and I would venture to remind you that any disunion within your own ranks cannot fail to weaken both your prestige and your power to play your part in the future history of India.

I feel that it is unnecessary for me to refer in detail to your many benevolent activities within your own estate and, I will merely say that Government are neither unmindful of nor ungrateful for your generosity in the matter of schools, dispensaries, good roads and every agency of progress in rural

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areas. It is with particular pleasure that I have learned of the practical interest which you are taking in the development of scientific agriculture by establishing demonstration and seed farms and stations upon your estates. This is a matter in which all owners of large estates can give valuable help to Government.

In thanking you again for the very cordial welcome which you have accorded to Lady Chelmsford and myself I wish to assure you of my warm interest in your welfare and to wish you individually and collectively all success in the future.

OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, DELHI
SESSION, 1916-17.

7th February 1917. [The first meeting of the Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the morning of the 7th February, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. There was a large attendance of the general public.

His Excellency in opening the proceedings spoke as follows:—]

I am glad to welcome you on the opening of another session. So short a time has elapsed since the last meeting of this Council that I have but little to report to you with regard to departmental activities. There is one matter however which I would impress on you with all the earnestness in my power.

We are still engaged in the momentous struggle which began in August 1914 and we are realising as never before in India what war means in relation to our public and indivi-

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dual lives. There is scarcely a subject which I shall touch upon to-day which is not affected by the war. Our governmental activities are concentrated on this one object—how best we can help the Empire to achieve victory. I am confident that in this we shall have the united support of you all. I say this in no pessimistic strain. To-day, as six months ago, I am confident of the victory of the allied arms, but victory demands concentration of effort and will. We must be ready to place all our resources at the disposal of the Empire. You have already given evidence of your sentiments in the eloquent resolution which you passed on 8th September 1914, and for the sake of those who were not Members of this Council at that date I will read it to you :—

“ That, in view of the great war, involving most momentous issues, now in progress in Europe, into which our august Sovereign has been forced to enter by obligations of honour and duty to preserve the neutrality guaranteed by treaty and the liberties of a friendly State, the Members of this Council, as voicing the feeling that animates the whole of the people of India, desire to give expression to their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King-Emperor, and an assurance of their unflinching support to the British Government.

“ They desire at the same time to express the opinion that the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom and request the Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.

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"They request His Excellency the President to be so good as to convey the substance of this Resolution to His Majesty's Government."

But besides concentration of effort we must have concentration of will; our purpose must be centred in the one thought, how best to accomplish victory. In saying this, I would not have you think that I minimise the effort that has been made by India, but that effort must be a continuing one. There can be no question of India, to use a current phrase, having "done her bit." We shall have "done our bit" when our warfare is accomplished. In the meantime our motto must be "effort and yet greater effort."

In this connection there is a matter which I regard as of great importance and which I wish to bring to the attention of the Members of this Council. Lord Hardinge in his speech of the 12th January 1915 appealed to your predecessors in office to abstain from any action which might provoke controversy or bitterness at a time when the Empire was engaged in a death-struggle with a powerful and implacable enemy. That appeal did not fall on deaf ears, and the Council as then constituted loyally and patriotically recognised that, while the Empire was fighting for its very existence, domestic differences must be stilled. I think, however, there must have been many who were present at the meeting in 1915 who cherished hopes that 1917 would find us with peace within our borders and able to resume the ordinary course of our debates. Unfortunately, that is not the case, and it is as necessary for me as it was for Lord Hardinge to invoke your co-operation in this matter. Though feelings of impatience and discontent are not unnaturally generated when we see matters on

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which we may feel strongly continuously deferred or postponed, yet prudence and common-sense, and above all our deep sense of loyalty to the Empire, must recognise the necessity of such a course in times like these. I do not wish to dwell on this, but it must be evident that in some of the various items of business to be laid before this Council there is a tendency to press the discussion of what are obviously controversial questions.

I cannot help thinking that this is due in part to that very natural impatience at the postponement of measures to which I have already alluded, and in part to the fact that this is a new Council, and that new Members are unaware of the unwritten understanding which obtained in the last Council.

I leave it now with Members, but I hope that you will quite clearly understand that I have no desire at all to check Members in their legitimate desire to obtain information on subjects in which they may be interested. I may assure the Council that I should exercise with extreme reluctance the powers of disallowance in regard to both resolutions and questions which are vested in me by the rules, for I think it should rarely be necessary for me to exercise them. I would also ask Members to remember that there are now a large number of local Councils, and that resolutions which can be discussed and questions which can be answered in those Councils ought not to be brought up here. The whole scheme of the present Council system contemplates the discussion of matters of local interest as far as may be in the Councils which are specially fitted to deal with these questions.

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I turn now to a question of very great importance on which I think there is no real difference of opinion between us except on the question of procedure.

Almost at the close of last legislative session the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave notice of his intention to move for leave to introduce a Bill to abolish entirely the system of emigration under indenture to labour. The cursory examination that was possible during the short period of notice which the Hon'ble Member gave elicited the fact that the Bill contained provisions which required my sanction under section 67, sub-section 2, of the Government of India Act, 1915, and the Hon'ble Member was so informed. He subsequently made a formal application for that sanction, and I think I should explain to the Council my reasons for refusing to comply with his request. I do not propose to enter into the legal ground which rendered my sanction necessary, as I do not base my decision on that aspect of the case or on any technical grounds. I am aware that this is a subject which has attracted great public attention and I fully appreciate the high motives underlying the Hon'ble Member's action. In the first place I may say emphatically that there has never been any intention either on the part of the Secretary of State or the Government of India of departing from the pledges made by Lord Hardinge on behalf of the Government of India. Lord Hardinge made it perfectly clear that the object he had in view was the eventual abolition of the existing system. He made it equally clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until the new conditions under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies should have

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been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned; until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have been provided, and until these should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change. At the same time he expressed his confidence that every one would agree that, as the policy of the abolition of this system had now been definitely accepted and would be carried out, India could afford to accept this delay in a reasonable and generous spirit. Lord Hardinge's speech was delivered on the 20th March 1916 and, having regard to the magnitude of the issues and interests involved, I cannot help feeling that my honourable friend in his earnest desire to forward the matter which lies close to his heart, and which in fact is of the deepest concern to us all, has been betrayed into some impatience in his action in endeavouring to introduce a Bill which, I fear, can only tend to prejudice the cause which he desires to serve. This Bill as framed provided not only for the abolition of indentured labour, but also for the absolute prohibition of the departure of any Native of British India by land or by sea out of British India under or with a view to entering into an agreement to labour for hire in any country beyond the sea, other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. It thus went beyond the scope of the Hon'ble Member's own Resolution of last year, and in fact beyond anything that the Government of India have been asked to agree to or have undertaken to consider.

I myself in my speech of the 5th September last explained that the abolition of the existing system cannot be effected by a stroke of the pen or by the simple fiat of a statutory enactment, but that it entails considerable

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enquiry and investigation in order to guard against the danger of a bad system being succeeded by a worse. I rather think that what is at the back of the Hon'ble Member's mind is that the Government of India have been sleeping over their pledges. I assure him that this is not the case. The matter has not been allowed to rest either in India or the Colonies. It has been necessary to obtain the views of Local Governments who are primarily concerned with details of recruitment and with the conditions under which this should be conducted in future. Their replies are being received. A special mission has been despatched to Ceylon and the Federated Malay States, where labour is chiefly employed under short-term contracts which give the labourers frequent opportunities of changing their employers, to ascertain whether the system in force there can be purified of its defects and adapted for employment in the other Colonies. The report of this mission is expected towards the close of this month (*i.e.*, February). It is intended that a Conference will meet in London as soon as is practicable thereafter, probably in May next, consisting of representatives of Indian and Colonial interests, and it is hoped that this Conference will be able to formulate a scheme embodying conditions acceptable to both parties. At the same time, I may say that our decision that the present form of emigration must cease has been whole-heartedly accepted by the Colonial Office, and that they are busily engaged not merely in improving the conditions of labour in the interval but in making ready for the great change which has to take place.

The Colonies concerned have on their part shown the utmost readiness to co-operate in removing the features of the

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present system which are regarded as objectionable. In 1915, even before the Government of India had decided to recommend the abolition of the indenture system, the Fiji Government prepared a draft Bill to give effect to the more important recommendations made by Messrs. McNeill and Chimman Lal, including the abolition of imprisonment as a penalty for labour offences. During last year again, on receipt of intimation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the indenture system was definitely to be abolished as soon as possible, the Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica immediately initiated legislation to provide for the changes that would be necessary. Further legislation in the Colonies will be undertaken after the close of the ensuing Conference as soon as the precise character of the reforms to be introduced is decided. Meanwhile we have been definitely informed that imprisonment as a substantive punishment for strictly labour offences has been expunged from the laws of all four Colonies. Both the Colonial Office and the Colonies which they represent are therefore entitled to full recognition of the spirit in which they have met us and to generous consideration in the many difficulties they have to meet, and I should deprecate most strongly any display of suspicion of their good faith or any failure to acknowledge the real difficulties which they have to confront.

I may add that any law restricting emigration to other countries must obviously affect far wider interests than the mere internal politics of British India, even though these may be the most important considerations involved. It appears to me, therefore, to be essential that any legislation on the subject should be introduced by the Government of

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India as a Government measure. I have no hesitation in telling the Council that as soon as ever the necessary preliminaries can be got through, the Government of India will themselves undertake whatever legislation may be required in a wholly sympathetic spirit, and I appeal with confidence to all my honourable friends in the Council to be satisfied with this assurance, the fulfilment of which will, I hope, not be long delayed.

Much has been said lately in the Press with regard to the moral evils of the present system. I can assure the Hon'ble Member, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose unselfish zeal in this matter we all admit, that I deplore with him the undoubted evils which exist in this respect, and that if by a stroke of the pen I could abolish these evils, I would gladly do so. In the meantime I will endeavour, and I can say no more, with the help of the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes, to see whether some amendment of the sex ratio prevailing among emigrants cannot be devised.

I should like now to make a brief reference to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India which has just been published. The recommendations in the Report cover a very wide field and comprise many important and urgent proposals. In view of this fact and of the time that has elapsed since the Report was signed it has been decided, with the Secretary of State's approval, to accelerate its consideration as much as we possibly can. We intend first to examine the general principles that the Commissioners have laid down and next to proceed to a discussion of the detailed proposals. This should make both for expedition and for consistency. And instead of following the usual lengthy procedure of exhaustive correspondence with Local

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Governments, we propose to set out the definite issues which arise in connection with each service or department and to discuss all except unimportant cases in conferences with representatives nominated by the Local Governments. From this I trust it will be clear that Government intend to deal expeditiously and in a practical spirit with the Report, but in all our deliberations we shall make it our special endeavour to regard the different questions in their proper perspective, so that the redress of pressing grievances is not postponed to less urgent reforms, and so that major questions, among which the increased employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public service is one of the most important, are not prejudiced or delayed by lesser problems which are easier to solve.

Hon'ble Members are aware that shortly after the close of the last session a Memorandum was presented to me on behalf of 19 elected Members of this Council embodying a list of reforms which they considered should be undertaken with reference to the present constitution of the Government of India. The suggested reforms in the 19 Members' Memorandum have, I observe, since received endorsement by resolutions passed at the National Congress which met at Lucknow.

Gentlemen, let me assure you that the expediency of broadening the basis of government, and the demand of Indians to play a greater part in the conduct of the affairs of this country, are not matters which have escaped our attention. I think the decision to publish the report of Lord Islington's Commission is a clear indication of our policy in this respect. Until the report of the Commission had been examined, it would have been impossible for us to

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formulate our policy on the important question of the further employment of Indians in the public services. But, on the general question of political reform, as I have already declared in public, progress must be circumspect and on well-considered lines. Subject to these considerations, which are considerations of political prudence inherent in good governance, you may rest satisfied that we shall respond sympathetically to the spirit of progress which exists.

I may state officially to day, what is I believe a matter of common knowledge, that the Government of India addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State on this subject in the autumn of last year. From May to October, that is to say, before the session of the Legislative Council which produced the Memorandum to which I have referred, we were engaged in considering it. You will not expect me to give any indication as to the nature of our proposals, as the matter is now before His Majesty's Government, but I would sound this note of warning. His Majesty's Government have at the present moment their attention entirely occupied by affairs relating to the war, and it is idle to expect them to give a speedy answer to our despatch. If, gentlemen, after reading your morning newspaper, you pause for a moment to consider the vital and urgent questions which day by day engage the British Cabinet at the present juncture, I am sure the thought uppermost in your mind will be one of sympathy for the men engaged on the almost superhuman problem of mobilising the resources of our huge Empire in its gigantic task, and that you will not be disposed to cavil at the fact that the consideration of certain constitutional issues affecting a portion of that Empire has to yield place for a time in the presence of such vast responsibilities.

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I will not anticipate Sir William Meyer's budget speech by any detailed remarks on financial questions ; but there are two matters of lively public interest on which I propose to touch. First, as regards the exchange crisis ; on this subject I need hardly do more than refer to the announcement which we published on the 5th January after the Finance Member's discussions in Calcutta. We fully appreciate the difficulties of the situation and shall continue to do all that is possible to remedy them and afterwards to prevent their recurrence. But, as was announced in the press communiqué, the situation is one necessitated by the peculiar conditions created by the war, and the inconveniences which it may entail, though I do not underrate them, are merely the counterpart of an essential service which India is rendering to the Empire in finding funds on this side for war expenditure in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.

Secondly, a further opportunity of service has now been offered to India by the announcements of a general War Loan to be raised by His Majesty's Government and an Indian War Loan to be floated under our auspices and which, as already announced, will be launched very shortly. I cannot exaggerate the high importance both to the Empire as a whole and to India herself of a worthy response to this appeal. I feel sure that the Princes and Nobles, and the wealthier commercial institutions and individuals in this country, who have obtained such signal material benefit from British rule, will realise the patriotic duty of contributing amply towards the prosecution of the war and the triumph of the arms of the King-Emperor. But I would not have it supposed that the appeal is confined to the wealthier classes. The obligation of patriotism

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rests on us all. Let me ask, then, for the universal support of a united India.

Some of you perhaps, while anxious to help, have been feeling a difficulty as to which of the two loans should secure your preference and a word or two on this point may be helpful. The position in regard to the home loan is that it was framed primarily to suit home conditions, though there is nothing in its terms to prevent or discourage subscriptions from India. On the other hand, our war loan has been designed with special reference to Indian conditions and with the special object of enabling India as a whole to render a notable and definitely measureable war service. The natural course then for us in India, I would suggest, is to subscribe to the loan issued by our own Government, since it will be paid over to the Home Government and contribute directly towards assisting in the prosecution of the war. I think we should all like to see the sum subscribed by India reach as large a total as possible, and so I would appeal to all those who are jealous of India's credit to do all in their power to assist the Government in making our loan a real success.

Let me now say a word about our foreign affairs.

Here in India, isolated from the cruel realities of the war, many quite intelligent persons, Indian and English alike, are inclined to take for granted the peace and security in which they are living.

Everyone, of course realises that our sea-power has secured India's shores and is ready to admit India's immense debt to the Navy; but many are apt to forget that India has also a vulnerable land-frontier. This land-frontier—with

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portions of its immense line combustible at all times and doubly inflammable in the presence of this world-wide conflagration; coterminous with many different States and many heterogeneous communities—offered a field for intrigue, of which our enemies were not slow to avail themselves, German emissaries were flung broadcast towards our frontiers from all directions; in the Far East, and especially in Siam, they toiled to enmesh disaffected Indians in a conspiracy to raise trouble on the borders of Burma and within India itself; others in the West traversed Persia right up to our frontiers; and a Turco-German Mission actually succeeded in making its way into Kabul, confident in the expectation that its arrival would drag Afghanistan into the war.

That a campaign of intrigue, so laboriously planned and carried out at such expense and with such determination, should everywhere have been foiled, argues much for the skill and resolution of those who have had the safeguarding of India's frontiers in their keeping. And to our various frontier administrations—untiring in their vigilance, unsparing of patience and tact, when patience and tact sufficed, but resolute in action when action was called for—India owes a debt of gratitude which the public is perhaps apt to overlook. Indeed I cannot speak too highly of the work of our frontier officers during these months of uncertainty and anxiety.

Much too does India owe to the happy co-ordination of our naval, military and criminal intelligence, which has linked together the multifarious information regarding the far-spread machinations of our enemies, and has thus not only enabled us to bring to justice many disaffected persons who thought themselves secure to plot against India from the imagined safety of remote and inaccessible places, but also

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to forestal the attempts of our enemies and to bring to naught the many nefarious schemes against India's security.

Great too is the debt which we owe to our military forces—to the salutary deterrent afforded by our known military preparedness on the frontier, to the promptness of our troops in quelling local tribal ebullitions along our borders, and to their activities, in conjunction with our Russian Allies, in dealing with such German parties as ventured within their reach. Above all, however, we ought to realise more fully the full significance of the part played by our forces in Mesopotamia. Of the purely military value of that campaign I do not propose, nor have I the qualifications, to speak. But I do suggest that—when this phase of the world-wide war comes to be recorded by the dispassionate historian in the cold light of the distant future—emphasis will be laid on the supreme strategic and political value of these operations; and the peace and security of India will in no small measure be attributed to the steadying effect on the Middle East exercised by the presence of our great army in Mesopotamia.

Nor must we forget our great obligation to neighbouring States. On the West, the Persian Government, at one time sorely pressed by German intrigue but throughout assured that Great Britain, her best friend in the past, would remain her best friend in the future, have maintained a benevolent neutrality, and have welcomed and furthered our co-operation in the slow and laborious process of building up an effective force under British officers to cope with the chronic disorder in her southern provinces. On the East, His Majesty the King of Siam, true to his obligations as the Ruler of a neutral State, has resolutely crushed the endeavours of our enemies to turn his country into a focus of intrigue against India. On

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the North, that wise and far-seeing statesman, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan, has steadfastly upheld the neutrality of Afghanistan in the face of many difficulties. In days to come his people will realise how much they owe him for his persistent refusal to listen to wild hot-headed counsels, thereby saving his country from the miseries of a profitless and disastrous war. On the North-West frontier, where the Amir's calm and sagacious policy has exercised a steadying influence, the only discordant elements are the Mahsuds, whose intolerable lawlessness dates back long before the war, and the Mohmands. The measures taken to keep the former in check are slowly growing more effective ; their full meed of punishment must however wait until we are at leisure to deal conclusively with them. The latter are already paying for their misdeeds by a close blockade which will not be lifted until they have been brought finally to their knees, and we have full guarantees for their future good behaviour.

As matters stand at present, therefore, we have every reason to be satisfied with the political outlook. Germany's many-sided intrigue against India, it is true, has left its aftermath in Persia and elsewhere, but that too we may hope shortly to see cleared away. Its only mature fruit as yet has been the fruit of bitterness to those who were false and foolish enough to join with India's enemies.

Turning home, my presence in this Chamber recalls to my mind the last occasion on which I presided in this Chair.

On the 30th October last, a memorable gathering took place in this Chamber, when no less than 40 of the more important Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled together to discuss and advise the Government of India on certain important matters affecting themselves, their States and

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their people. These matters were not such as can appropriately be referred to in detail in this Council, but you will be glad to learn that the debates were full of interest and that the results of the Conference promise to be of real and practical value both to the States and to the Government of India. I trust that it may be found possible to hold similar gatherings in future years, and so to develop among the Ruling Princes and Chiefs a still livelier interest in the progress of their States and a broader conception, if that is possible, of their responsibilities as colleagues and partners in the business of the Empire.

If evidence were necessary of the cheerful acceptance of their responsibilities by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs I would point to the speeches delivered at the Conference and to the devoted and loyal assistance given by Their Highnesses towards the prosecution of the war. The flow of contributions and offers of services from their States still continues unabated; and among numerous recent offerings I may mention specially a further contribution of 10 lakhs from His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the further gift of Rs. 45,000 a month by His Highness the Rao of Cutch towards the maintenance for a third year of an Indian Infantry regiment at the front, the gift of Rs. 4,51,200 by the Princes and people of Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara towards the purchase of air-craft and machine guns, the raising of three additional companies of the Bikaner Camel Corps by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, and the further gifts of one lakh by His Highness the Gackwar of Baroda, one lakh by His Highness the Maharaja of Jind, Rs. 50,000 by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur and Rs. 50,000 by His Highness the

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Maharaja Holkar of Indore towards the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. To the list of Imperial Service Troops, which have received the honour of being sent on active service, must now be added the Imperial Service Transport Corps from Mysore and a Mountain Battery from Kashmir, whose troops have already rendered distinguished service in the field. The Prime Minister and Government of Nepal, not content with their previous subventions, have recently placed at my disposal a further donation of Rs. 3 lakhs for the purposes of the war. For all these gifts and services I should like to offer once more the cordial acknowledgments of the Government of India and of this Council.

I now pass on to military affairs and will preface my remarks by welcoming the Commander-in-Chief who makes his appearance in this Council to-day for the first time.

You are all familiar with the details of Sir Charles Monro's distinguished career. He came to us fresh from the battlefields of France and Gallipoli and commenced his term of office by visiting Mesopotamia, thus acquiring a personal knowledge of the conditions of service in that country which has already proved invaluable.

I am glad to say that he was able to report that these conditions were rapidly improving. The difficulties which arose in the earlier phases of the campaign have been gradually overcome by the increase of our transport resources, and great improvements have been effected during the last six months in regard to the housing, feeding and equipment of our soldiers as well as in the care and evacuation of the sick and wounded. The health of the troops has improved in a marked degree and the army in

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Mesopotamia is now, we hope, one of the best equipped and organised of the many expeditionary forces serving in the field. The climate is no doubt a trying one for part of the year, but no trouble or expense has been spared to mitigate its effects and to improve the amenities of life.

These gratifying results are largely due to the untiring efforts of the military authorities at Home and in India who have worked together in the closest co-operation. They have been actively assisted by the Railway Board which, besides constructing two lines of railway in that country in little more than six months, has been of the greatest help in pushing forward the construction of rivercraft, as well as the manufacture of munitions. These services have been cordially acknowledged by the Army Council, and I take advantage of this opportunity to thank the members of various firms and administrations concerned, as well as the officers of the Railway Department, for the energy and resourcefulness which they have displayed in bringing about these results.

We have now at work on the rivers of Mesopotamia a flotilla which will soon be amply sufficient to meet all military requirements. The convoying and towing of these vessels round India and across the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf to Basrah has been carried out with skill and promptitude by the Royal Indian Marine, and the comparatively small number of vessels lost, despite boisterous weather and other difficulties, testifies to the efficiency of that service.

We have, with the assistance of the Bombay Government, carried out various measures for the better control of

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the Docks at Bombay and have improved the organisation of the embarkation staff both there and at Karachi.

The necessity of developing our man-power to the utmost in order to counter the great efforts made by the Central Powers to augment their forces in the field, has led in the United Kingdom to the introduction of compulsory service. Following the example thus given them, the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Ceylon have made services in their volunteer forces compulsory for European British subjects during the war. The time has now arrived for the adoption of somewhat similar measures in India, so as to enable us to release, for service in the field, British units which would otherwise be employed on garrison duty.

Hon'ble Members are no doubt aware that I have during the last few days issued an Ordinance to provide for the compulsory registration of all European British subjects in India, and it is probably an open secret that this is only a preliminary step towards compulsory service. It may seem strange to some Hon'ble Members that I should have thought it right to proceed by Ordinance within a few days of the assembling of this Council, and I think that I should explain to you why this was done and should foreshadow to some extent the legislation which it is proposed shall follow.

The necessities of the war have made it imperative that an Indian Defence Force should be organised with the greatest urgency, and we had hoped to have been able to bring our whole scheme into being before the commencement of the new year. The matter has been in train for some months past, but the details of the organisation have necessitated long and anxious consideration, and their final settlement

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has been delayed almost from day to day. The first preliminary was obviously to get a complete register of all available European British subjects in India, and this, it is thought, can be effected in about four weeks. The issue of the Ordinance, therefore, will, it is hoped, have the ground cleared and the necessary preliminaries effected by the time that the Bill which will be introduced in this Council can be carried through and brought into operation, and very valuable time will thus have been saved.

By the Bill to which I have referred it is proposed to enact that all European British subjects in India between the ages of 18 and 41 shall be liable to general military service in India, while those between the ages of 41 and 50 will be compulsorily enrolled for local military service, and youths between 16 and 18 for military training. In adopting compulsory measures, we are only following in the steps of the Home Government, and I am confident that our action will be whole-heartedly endorsed by the community directly concerned. I recognise that there will be hardships and some disorganisation of business, but this is inseparable from such a measure, and I have no doubt that they will be cheerfully endured in so great a cause. We shall endeavour to introduce the system with as little immediate inconvenience as possible, and I look confidently to a loyal response throughout India to the Empire's call

But we have no intention of confining the Defence of India Force to European British subjects. We also propose to enrol Indians in their own units for general military service in India for the duration of the war. In their case, considering the numbers available and the possible limitations upon our powers of training and equipment, we are satisfied

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that it will be sufficient, for the present at all events, to give Indians the opportunity of enrolling themselves for service as an integral part of this force. The desire of Indians to serve their country has been so widely expressed and so ardently acclaimed that I may feel confident that a great response will be made to this call, and that within the six months which we propose to allow for their enrolment as many men will offer themselves for service as the military authorities can deal with. But it must be borne in mind that, though the services of this force will be confined to the limits of India, it is intended to be and will be essentially serious military service under strictly military conditions. To them, no less than to the others, the call is their country's and the service they are asked to undertake the service of the Empire.

His Majesty's Government, as you know, have decided to convene a special War Conference in London in order to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the war, the possible conditions on which, in agreement with our Allies, we could assent to its termination, and the problems which will then immediately arise. As Members are aware, His Majesty's Government have invited the Secretary of State for India to represent India, and the Secretary of State has appointed, in consultation with the Government of India, three gentlemen to assist him at that Conference.

Criticism has been made of the method of representation and the manner of selection of India's special delegates. I think our critics have misapprehended the nature of the Conference and of the representation. The Conference is of the Mother Country, the Dominions, and India. Each

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Dominion is represented by its Prime Minister and has but one voice in the Conference, but the Prime Ministers are permitted to bring with them such other Ministers as they may desire, and may invite these Ministers to speak on behalf of the Dominions on any particular question. It is obvious that in the case of India, so long as the Secretary of State is directly responsible to Parliament for the policy of the Indian Government, the Secretary of State must be the head of the Indian delegation, and the policy propounded by India must be the policy of the Secretary of State in Council, but I have the Secretary of State's assurance that he will be glad to leave his colleagues from India to speak, whenever possible, on behalf of India.

The Conference then being a Conference of Governments, it follows that the responsibility for the choice of the representatives must rest with the Government. No Government could divest itself from that responsibility, and so in the case of India the Secretary of State in consultation with the Government of India, has chosen the three gentlemen whose names you know. The choice in fact goes beyond the promise made by Lord Hardinge in his speech of 22nd September 1915, to which I would refer Hon'ble Members.

I am sorry to think that the enormous importance of the decision taken by His Majesty's Government stands in danger of being minimized and discounted by hasty and not very well-informed criticism. As the French proverb has it, "It is the first step which counts," and India has been admitted to-day for the first time to a place of honour at the Council table of the Empire. It marks a point in the history of India which, though it may not be

Indian Defence Bill.

seen in its true perspective to-day, will, I have no hesitation in saying, be the beginning of a new chapter in India's history under the Imperial flag.

Our three representatives have been chosen. They embark shortly. They are, I think you will all agree, men who will rise to the height of India's opportunity and do India credit on the new stage to which she is summoned.

May they so bear themselves that from these early beginnings may spring a full and generous interpretation of India's future within the Empire! I have every confidence that by their talents they will establish India's claim to retain at the Council of Empire the place which was first won for her by the loyalty of her people and the gallantry of her soldier-sons when the Empire lay under the shadow of the Great War.

INDIAN DEFENCE BILL.

[At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Delhi 21st February on the 21st February the Indian Defence Bill was passed into law. 21st February 1917. His Excellency the Viceroy presided and addressing the Council on the measure spoke as follows:—]

Hon'ble Members will, I think, have realised that I am always most anxious to take them into the confidence of the Government, and on this occasion I think they will expect me to say a few words on the subject of the Bill which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is about to introduce.

As Hon'ble Members are aware, the moment has arrived when the Empire must make a united and concerted effort to finish this war. We have been asked, and we have agreed, to send every available man to the decisive sphere of action.

Indian Defence Bill.

This will involve the sending away from India of certain British units.

The Army in India has always been composed of a blend in certain proportions of British and Indian troops, and military experience has shown that this blend constitutes the very best fighting force which we can supply.

This principle of blend is no new thing in military history. Historically there are parallels and precedents wherever armies have been composed of different races. And now, to preserve the proportions of this blend, we find it necessary to replace these British units which are required for the decisive theatres of the war. To do this effectively and equitably, it is obviously imperative to introduce compulsion.

In time of war volunteering is a broken reed. The Government must have power to give orders and enforce them. This was impossible as the law stood and we propose therefore the provisions of the Bill which will be placed before you. Moreover, as things stood on the basis of volunteering, some men were offering their services, while others were getting off scot-free. This was clearly inequitable; there must be equality of sacrifice. To secure this, we propose compulsion for all coming under the definition of European British subject.

I have seen it suggested that industries will suffer as a consequence of this measure. You cannot have legislation of this nature without concomitant inconveniences, but the Government of India hope that, under the provisions of the Bill, and the regulations drawn up under it, no needless hardship will be imposed. Both the Commander-in-Chief and

Indian Defence Bill.

I had many discussions on this subject with leading businessmen in Calcutta. We recognise that in India there is no reserve of elderly men or ineffectives on which to draw for the replacement of those called up, and we hope that, under the machinery of the Bill, the least possible disturbance of industry or hardship will take place.

I turn now to our invitation to Indians to offer their services. As I pointed out in my opening speech to the Council, compulsion in this case is out of the question on practical grounds, but we will endeavour to deal with those who apply to be enrolled.

Hon'ble Members will have realised from my previous remarks that volunteering, as we have known it under the Volunteer Act, 1869, is dead. It is useless to spend money on a military force, which is bound to be ineffective under the conditions and nature of its existence. So this new force will come under the provisions of the Indian Army Act. It is intended to be an effective military organisation. As the British element under this Act is to be dealt with on the same lines as those of the British Regulars, so the Indian element will come under the same military conditions which apply to the Indian Regular forces, saving the fact, in both cases, that service is to be within India. I do not think it necessary for me to labour this point. We cannot play at soldiers in these times, nor, I hope, shall we play at soldiers at any future time. Military efficiency must be the sole criterion of our policy.

One last word. This is an urgent measure, but we feel that time lost may be gained if Hon'ble Members will co-operate with us in making this Bill a useful and practical measure.

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We did not enact it as an ordinance, for we felt that, with the Council sitting, it should be brought before Council for its consideration. We have not put it before you as a war measure to be passed in all its stages at one sitting, for we looked forward to your help, advice and co-operation in the passing of this important measure. We recognise that your special knowledge may prove of invaluable assistance, and so I commend our proposals to you in the sure and certain confidence that your minds are at one with ours at this present juncture, *viz.*, to do all within our power to secure the victory of the allied arms. So let us run, then, that we may obtain.

DEPUTATION FROM THE PRESS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA.

5th March 1917. [His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation from the Press Association of India at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, on the morning of the 5th March. The deputation consisted of Mr. B. G. Horniman, Bombay : the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Allahabad ; The Hon'ble Mr. C. T. Chintamani, Editor, *Leader*, Allahabad ; Mr. S. Sinha, Editor, *Hindustani Review*, Bankipore ; Mr. Gopala Iyengar, Editor, *Tribune*, Lahore ; Mr. Jamna Das Dwarkadas, Editor of *Young India*, Bombay ; and Mr. M. C. Modi, Secretary.

Mr. Horniman, President of the Association, read the following address.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Representatives of the Press Association of India, have ventured to seek this opportunity of waiting upon Your Excellency in order to lay before you the grievances under which the Press in this country is labouring by the operation of the Press Act of 1910 (Act I, 1910), and we would express to Your Excellency our grateful appreciation of the courtesy that you have extended to us by acceding to the request of the Council of the Association to receive this deputation in person.

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2. The Press Association of India was formed in December, 1915, for the defence of the interests of the Press in general and its protection against undue encroachment upon its liberties by legislation or executive action in particular. Its membership includes the proprietors or editors, and in most cases both, of the leading Indian journals in the country and the proprietors of a large number of private presses. It is because its members feel that the Act of 1910 has endangered the liberty and gravely hampered the beneficial activities of the Press of this country in both the above respects, while at the same time inflicting unjustifiable hardships on the owners of newspapers and presses, that we have sought this opportunity of laying our grievances before Your Excellency.

3. We feel that it is not necessary to address to Your Excellency any elaborate argument in defence of the principle of a free Press, because it is the fact that that principle has been long since accepted by the British Government in India, in accordance with the liberal traditions which have inspired British statesmen in the extension throughout the Empire of "the principles of freedom in every department of life,"—a phrase recently used by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour in regard to the ideals of British rule. As far back as 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor-General of India, granted freedom to the Indian Press and with the exception of the Act of 1867 for the registration of owners of presses, of which we do not at present complain, that freedom until 1910 was only interrupted or modified on two occasions,—the Act of 1857 which was enacted only for a year and was not renewed and Lord Lytton's Act of 1878 which was repealed three years later. Both these Acts were, like that of 1910, in the nature of emergency legislation, but the Act of which we complain has now remained in force,—against, we venture to say, the practically unanimous view of Indian opinion,—for seven years. But the principle of the freedom of the Press has not been disputed, and was indeed emphasised at the time of the passage of the present Act through the Legislative Council, when the late Sir Herbert Risley promised that the Act should be repealed when the necessity for it had ceased to exist. We feel assured that Your Excellency is as anxious that the Press in India should be free and unfettered as ourselves

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and we are only concerned therefore to endeavour to persuade you that the necessity for such a measure as that of 1910 does not exist, and that its continuance on the Statute Book is unnecessary and its practical everyday working a grave and undesirable infringement of public liberties.

4. Your Excellency will bear with us while we recall, as briefly as possible, the circumstances under which this Act came to be placed on the Statute Book. The Statement of Objects and Reasons annexed to the Act sets out that "the continued recurrence of murderous outrages had shown that the measures hitherto taken to deal with anarchy and sedition required strengthening" Prosecutions, it was stated, though they had proved successful, had "produced no permanent improvement in the tone of the Press, a certain section of which had continued both by openly seditious writing and by suggestion and veiled incitement to inculcate hostility to British rule." It was therefore rendered necessary "to assume control over printing presses as well as newspapers." Thus the Press as a whole was made to suffer for the crimes of a certain section,—and we may say a very small section,—of it. Not only so, but we think it is correct to say that the majority of the newspapers contained in that small section, if not all of them, had ceased actually to exist before the Act came into operation, not so much through fear of the Act as by the operation of the ordinary law and the failure of the demand for pernicious literature of such a character to respond to the offer to supply it. The Act, as we have said, was intended to deal with that small section of the Press which incited to crime and persistently inculcated hostility to British rule, and the nature of the objectionable writings against which it was aimed were defined in the Statement of Objects and Reasons as follows:—

- (a) to incite to murder, to anarchical outrage by means of explosives, or to acts of violence;
- (b) to tamper with the loyalty of the Army or the Navy;
- (c) to excite racial, class or religious animosities, or hatred or contempt of the Government of British India or of any Native State or Prince;

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- (d) to incite to criminal intimidation ;
- (e) to incite to interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order ;
- (f) to intimidate public servants by threat of injury to them or to those in whom they are interested.

And in order to make the operation of the Act as far-reaching as possible the section covering these heads contained the preamble, that "any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to do any of the things cited above would be liable to come under the operation of the Act, in respect of forfeiture of security.

5. Thus it will be seen that, though the Act was intended to deal with the crimes of a small section of the Press, and that small section, as we have said, long ago ceased to exist, the terms of this section are so amazingly wide, that the most honest writers and the most well-intentioned and unoffending press owners and publishers may be brought accidentally within its meshes. And such is actually the case, for it is, we believe, a fact that the Act during the last seven years has been administered, not so much, if at all, in respect to writings of the kind against which it was intended to aim, as against those which have been held by executive authority otherwise to offend against the comprehensive terms of sub-section (c). It is only necessary to give a moment's thought to the terms of that section and the preamble to it, to realise that a writer, while honestly and virtuously exercising his right of public discussion in the public interest, and, perhaps, having been provoked into a controversy by the writings or sayings of others, which he rightly considered should be answered, may find that he has been held to have written something that has had "a tendency, directly or indirectly, by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise" to bring into hatred or contempt some class or section of His Majesty's subjects. And that this has actually happened is notorious. Your Excellency is, of course, aware that two of the High Courts have emphasised the unreasonable dangers to which

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journals and writers are subjected by the wide terms of this section but that is a point to which we shall have occasion to refer presently. Our purpose for the moment is to draw attention to the fact that this Act, which was intended to deal with writers of criminal intent, has been used to penalise writers and journals, whose loyalty and good intentions and honesty of purpose are unquestioned, but who have unwittingly fallen into the trap which lies in wait for them, through a narrow and, as we claim to urge, improper interpretation of the terms of the section and the illiberal action of executive authority.

6. We need mention only two instances of this untoward consequence of the enactment of such a wide provision,—instances showing how far executive action has advanced beyond the original intentions of the framers of the Act. They are not the only instances but we select them because they are the only cases in which the sufferers have been able to go to the High Court and secure, not redress, but an expression of opinion from the highest judges in the land as to their undoubted honesty of purpose and loyalty and the harsh operation of the Act. The first is that of Mr. Mahomet Ali, who published in India the famous pamphlet entitled, “Come over into Macedonia and help us.” This pamphlet was in the nature of a protest and an appeal for help on behalf of a Mahomedan population who were being oppressed and massacred by Bulgarians and others. The facts were more or less undisputed, the pamphlet was admittedly not seditious and the *bona fides* of the publisher were never in question. But he had to suffer because the terms of the Section of the Act which we have quoted are, to quote the words of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the then Chief Justice of Bengal :

“very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. Indeed it appears to me to embrace the whole range of varying degrees of assurance from certainty on the one side to the very limits of impossibility on the other. It is difficult to see to what length the operation of this section might not be plausibly extended by an ingenious mind. They would certainly extend to writing that may even command approval. An attack on that degraded section of the public which lives on the misery and shame of others would come within this

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widespread net : the praise of a class might not be free from risks. Much that is regarded as standard literature might undoubtedly be caught."

The second case was that of Mrs. Besant, the proprietor, publisher and editor of "New India," whose security was forfeited on account of a series of writings which, we venture to say, would not have come within the pale of the law in any other civilised country, with the exception perhaps of Russia or Austria, and which were certainly far removed from anything in the nature of the criminal writings which this Act was manifestly and admittedly intended to deal. And here again the *bona fides* and loyalty of the person proceeded against were testified to by the Tribunal which tried her case. The Chief Justice of Madras, endorsing the view of Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Justice Stephen, of the Calcutta High Court, said :

"The terms of the section are extremely wide and comprehensive. They vest the Local Government with a discretion so large and unfettered that the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers is becoming an extremely hazardous undertaking in this country. A newspaper may be staunch in its loyalty to the Government, its general policy may be above all reproach, the sincerity and bona fides of the intentions of the editor may not be liable to question, but if any letters or other writings are let in, may be through carelessness, which come within the scope of any of the clauses to Section 4, the Government may at once, without any trial or even a warning, forfeit the security and in this way ultimately put an end to the newspaper itself. The vesting of such unlimited power in the Executive Government is undoubtedly a serious encroachment on the freedom which the press in India enjoyed before the passing of the Act."

We feel that no further words of ours are needed to emphasise the extent to which the existence of such an Act impinges upon the liberties of honest and loyal writers and publishers, and the extent to which the provisions of the Act have been abused,—we use the word with the greatest respect but deliberately,—to carry its operation into fields which were undreamt of by its authors and the Legislature which accepted their assurances.

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7. We have referred in the above paragraph to two most notorious instances of the manner in which the confidence, which those who accepted the Act at the time of its passage through the Imperial Council reposed in the assurances as to the limited character of its operation, has been gravely disabused. But we would point out to Your Excellency that to entrust executive authority with such wide powers, which can be exercised without the previous sanction of any judicial authority, is to place in its hands a weapon which is almost bound on occasion,—we do not say dishonestly,—to be abused. And in this respect the far-reaching consequences of this Act are multitudinous and oppressive in the highest degree. It is necessary therefore to refer in general terms to the numerous instances, which seldom see the light of publicity or whose fame does not travel outside the small area in which they occur. Editors of journals circulating in a small area,—and this applies especially to vernacular journals—often live under the perpetual tutelage and arbitrary censorship of local officials and they are compelled to submit to this galling and harassing existence by the fear of the provisions of the Press Act which are lurking in the background and which may be brought into operation at any moment for the correction of the contumacious journal which presumes not to conform to the standard of the local mentor. Such poor and struggling journals cannot see further than the first stage of the procedure of the Act for dealing with offending publishers; for them even the Platonic sympathy or certificate of character which may be obtained by an appeal to the High Court does not exist. One demand for security may be sufficient to shut them up and put an end to a useful, if comparatively obscure, existence. They must write with one eye always, not on the criminal law as the framers of the Act intended, but on the susceptibilities of the ruler of the District or the local police authority. This sort of indirect official terrorism is not occasional or confined to one or two areas, but is more or less chronic and widespread according to the enquiries we have made and the reports made to us voluntarily but in confidence. It is a deterrent to freedom of discussion and the ventilation of abuses and grievances which we feel assured Your Excellency does not

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desire should be continued. But human and official nature being what it is, it is an almost inevitable result of the existence of the power to put the Act in force in the hands of executive authority. It is true that the sanction of the Local Government is necessary before the provisions of section 4 can be put into operation, but we fear that such sanction is often too easily granted, and what we wish chiefly to emphasise is that it is the knowledge that what may be done will be done behind the scenes and without the opportunity to obtain a hearing beforehand that operates as the fear that keeps the small journal in the state of subjection we have described. But in the majority of cases it is not even procedure under section 4 that has to be feared, but the order to deposit security under section 3, by a press that has been hitherto excused such deposit, that is the dominating consideration.

8. Nor is it only the conductors of journals that are harassed and unduly handicapped in the pursuit of their calling by the existence and operation of the provisions of the Act. Authors of every kind, proprietors of presses and publishers are all sufferers. Cases have occurred where the proprietor of a press has been asked to deposit security of an amount either actually larger than the capital that he has invested or proposed to invest, or sufficiently large to cripple him, and enterprise has thus been killed at its inception; books have been proscribed for reasons which their authors have been unable to get disclosed for their future guidance and in cases where it has been difficult to imagine for what reason such action has been taken; proprietors of presses, sometimes of a small and struggling character, have been compelled to deposit security for the mere privilege of changing their premises, and the influence of the police, who, according to the assurances given on behalf of the Government in the Legislative Council, were to have no hand in the administration of the Act, is constantly imported, as, for instance, when an application is made for exemption of security and the magistrate sends the application for police enquiry and the Police Commissioner or the Superintendent, as the case may be, refers it to the C. I. D. for enquiry and report. It would be impossible, indeed, to burden this address, which Your Excellency has so kindly consented to receive, with all the evils, the harassments,

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the petty annoyances and the hardships of one kind and another which the existence of this remarkable piece of legislation has brought upon the journalistic and literary professions and the printing trade. But the many instances that have come to our notice and the complaints made to us from all parts of the country assure us of the wide use that is being made of the powerful influence it can be brought to exercise in restraining, not the writers of sedition, of incitement to murder and outrage and other forms of crime, but the legitimate freedom of public discussion and the healthy expansion of literary activities. Such we repeat was not, in any way, the intention of the framers of the Act and is utterly opposed to the assurances given on behalf of Government when it was under discussion in the Legislative Council.

9. Though we have referred above particularly to the powerful influence of the Act in its restrictive effect on the legitimate activities of the smaller class of journals, it must not be supposed that larger and more influential papers are free from this baneful influence, by which officialdom often endeavours to restrain, if it cannot altogether suppress, inconvenient criticism and publicity. If Your Excellency were to question them, we believe there is not one of these journals whose proprietors or editors, as the case may be, would not tell you how carefully the editorial course must be steered, not, again, to avoid writing anything which might be legitimately interpreted as incitement to sedition or wrong-doing of any kind, which is far from their intention or their meaning, but to refrain, as far as possible, from provoking the displeasure of those in whose power it lies to draw up a secret indictment against them under the Act and to take action thereon. And, even if the action taken is only a demand for security, hitherto excused, the public stigma, apart from the inconvenience, which is thus cast upon a public journal is naturally usually regarded as a thing to be avoided at any cost. The case is not unknown,—without mention of the many devious ways in which individual officials, with this power lurking in the background, can make their influence felt,—where a Local Government has imposed restrictions on the Press within its jurisdiction for which there is no legal sanction, as far as can be ascertained, but which are submitted to because of the fear that the expansive and all-embracing provisions of the Press Act of 1910

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may be brought into requisition if compliance is not shown. It is no small tribute, we think, to the ability and general moderation with which the majority of important journals in this country are conducted that there are still so many in existence which continue to exercise their right of public criticism with so much courage. But even the bravest among them pursue their way with the constant dread that the sword of Damocles may fall upon their necks at any moment, regardless of the staunch loyalty, irreproachable general policy, sincerity and *bona fides* of intention to which the Chief Justice of Madras referred as being useless to protect the journal which accidentally slips into any sort of honest expression which may be brought within the completely comprehensive purview of section 4.

10. We have described the evils of the Act in regard to the manner in which its provisions apply to a far wider class of writings and publications than was intended or stated to be intended by its framers when defending those provisions in the Legislature; how, from being, as was intended and contended, an Act for the suppression of criminal writings, it has been discovered to be, and used as, one for the restraint and suppression of honest and *bona fide* writings and the penalising without trial of their authors and publishers; and we have shown the far-reaching effects of the existence of such a drastic, pervasive and stifling measure in the restriction of public liberty. We now wish to call Your Excellency's attention to the assurances that were given in the Imperial Council by the members of Government that the Act contained provisions which would safeguard the cases of honest editors and publishers. The late Sir Herbert Risley described the appeal to a special tribunal of Three Judges of the High Court against any order of forfeiture passed by the Government as such "a very complete check upon any hasty or improper action by a Local Government" that the framers had "barred all other legal remedies." As to the efficacy of that supposed check we shall speak presently, but it may be pointed out here that a check, even if it were effective, on forfeiture, is not a sufficient check on other powers which can be exercised under the Act, such as the demand for deposit of security either in the case of a new newspaper or private press, or in the case of one that was registered under the Act of 1867

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or otherwise previously exempted by the Magistrate's order. Such demand may be made for alleged improper writings within the wide meaning of the section by the Magistrate,—possibly or probably on a police report,—or in the event of a change of premises or proprietorship or through death or other circumstances,—again possibly or probably on a police report. The framers of the Act having barred all other legal remedies beyond the appeal against forfeiture, what safeguard is there for those against whom the Act is put in force, short of forfeiture, from arbitrary and unjustifiable penalisation? Yet the assurances that honest editors and publishers were safeguarded were profuse. Even if the Magistrate makes an order which is *ultra vires*, as was established in the case of "New India" by the Madras High Court, there is no remedy. In that case the Magistrate had made an order dispensing with security. This order he subsequently cancelled and made an order for the deposit of a heavy security. The learned Judges held that the order cancelling the previous order was *ultra vires*, but they held further that they were unable to interfere with it as it was an administrative and not a judicial order.

11. The then Law Member in his speech on the second reading of the Bill said: "We have put in all kinds of safeguards." Where are the safeguards? As a matter of fact there was never, as Sir Herbert Risley frankly stated, more than one and that has proved to be illusory. The appeal against forfeiture is meaningless. The utmost that one can hope for is an expression of opinion from the Judge as to the innocence of writings that have been wrongly penalised and a certificate of character for loyalty and honesty of intention for the offending appellant. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, than whom no higher or more respected judicial authority has existed in India since the days of Sir Barnes Peacocke, pointed out the immense burden that is cast upon the shoulders of a sufferer under the Act who appeals against forfeiture. He said, referring to the case of the pamphlet, "Come Over into Macedonia and Help Us":—

"The Advocate-General has admitted, and as I think very properly, that the pamphlet is not seditious and does not offend against any provision of the criminal law of India. But he has contended, and rightly in my opinion, that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond

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the criminal law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that however meritorious the pamphlet may be, still, if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail. And what is this negative? It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly, and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication. Nor is that all; for we find that the Legislature has added to this that all-embracing phrase 'or otherwise.'

"And here, I may, not inappropriately, invite attention to section 153-A of the Penal Code, which has such affinity to the statutory provision governing this case that it may be regarded as its basis. The section was added to the Penal Code in 1898, and was directed against the promotion and attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes. It will be noticed that the feeling here described is one of enmity or hatred; no provision is made for contempt. But the more important divergence is that while the Penal Code requires that the enmity or hatred should be not only towards a class but by a class, there is no such limitation in the Press Act as to the source from which these hostile feelings should proceed; it aims against all hatred or contempt regardless of those by whom it is entertained. Nor is this the only direction in which there is a greater stringency in the Press Act. To section 153-A there is appended an explanation which declares it not to be an offence to point out without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal, matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce the feelings of enmity or hatred indicated in the section. And yet no such qualifying words are to be found in section 4 of the Press Act, and this is the more remarkable because the qualifying explanations of section 124-A are introduced though they relate to an even greater offence."

Having had thrust upon him this unparalleled obligation to establish his innocence of offence under the Act, the appellant is then left to discover, according to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, that the Tribunal to which he has been permitted to appeal and which was to be "a complete

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check" on executive error or wrong-doing has no power to give him redress, for, says Sir Lawrence Jenkins :

"The Advocate-General has convinced me that the Government's view of this piece of legislation is correct and that the High Court's power of intervention is the narrowest ; its power to pronounce on the legality of the forfeiture by reason of failure to observe the mandatory conditions of the Act is barred ; the ability to pronounce on the wisdom of the Executive order is withheld ; and its functions are limited to considering whether the applicant to it has discharged the almost hopeless task of establishing that his pamphlet does not contain words which fall within the all-comprehensive provisions of the Act. I describe it as an almost hopeless task because the terms of section 4 are so wide that it is scarcely conceivable that any publication would attract the notice of the Government in this connection to which some provision of that section might not 'directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise' apply."

Thus we find one high judicial authority laying it down that the appeal against forfeiture which the Act allows must be ineffectual and another high judicial authority holding that there can be no redress against wrongful executive action under the Act. Your Excellency, may we respectfully ask, is it possible for such a measure, apart from all other considerations, to remain a day longer as a blot on the Statute Book of a great and civilised State and a Dependency of the British Crown ?

12. Before leaving this aspect of the Act, we would ask Your Excellency to examine with us the chief additional safeguard, among the "all sorts of safeguards" which the then Law Member fortuitously discovered to exist in the Act. What was it ? It was to be found in section 4. "When the Local Government makes the order of forfeiture," said Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, "the Bill provides that it must state or describe the offending words or articles, etc." And he proceeded, with an emphasis that, in the light of subsequent events, is pathetic, to describe how effective a safeguard was thus provided. "No making an order which is vague" he said, "which is indefinite, no order without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for ; but," and here the speaker becomes

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triumphant, "a definite order stating the very words of the article, or describing it as that which the man is being punished for. . . ."

. . . Is it not a safeguard to provide that a man will not have his security forfeited *without being told exactly what he has written that is taken exception to* ? Your Excellency, to mention only one case, in which the assertions contained in the passages we have quoted have been defied and belied by the action of the Executive, not much more than three years after they were uttered, the Chief Justice of Bengal in pronouncing the judgment of the High Court of Calcutta in Mr. Mahomet Ali's case, referred to the fact that the notification of the Local Government forfeiting the security did not describe the offending words or articles, etc. It was not an order "stating the very words of the article or describing it as that which the man was being punished for." It was an order which was "vague, which was indefinite . . . without allowing the man to know what he was being punished for." No grounds, said the Chief Justice, were set forth and the mandatory terms of the Act were not complied with. But the Court was unable to interfere and to hold that the forfeiture was illegal because section 22 provides that every declaration purporting to be made under the Act is conclusive evidence that the forfeiture has taken place. "The result is" said the learned Chief Justice "that, although I hold the notification does not comply with the provisions of the Act, still we are (in my opinion) barred from questioning the legality of the forfeiture it purports to declare."

13. We trust we have said enough to satisfy Your Excellency that the need, if ever need there was, for the existence of this drastic measure, no longer exists, that it far exceeds in its effect anything that was intended by the Legislature which passed it, and that the disabilities and wrongs which are thereby inflicted on honest and law-abiding journals and publishers are not only to be deprecated in themselves on account of those who have to suffer them but are as wholly inimical to the interests of the Government as they are to those of the public at large. Sir Herbert Risley, in rejecting an amendment in the Imperial Council to limit the operation of the Act to a period of three years, said :

"In England the license of the Press is controlled and we see it controlled every day by public opinion. Now here in this country there is very little public opinion and its place must be supplied by the law.

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*This law when it is passed will be . . . a great public educator ;
 When, Sir, we get a Press temperate in tone and honest
 in intention then it will be possible to repeal that law."*

Your Excellency, it requires a peculiarly officialised mind to conceive that a measure for the restriction of the freedom of the Press could be a great public educator. And we have seen that, so far from being so, the Press Act of 1910 has been in effect more a restraint upon public education than otherwise. However that may be, we urge that the tone of the Press in India to-day as a whole is temperate and its intention is honest, whatever may have been the character of a "certain section" of it when the necessity for this Act was considered to have arisen. There may be here and there journals which indulge in strong criticism and sometimes use strong language as there is certainly a class of journals which are habitually most intemperate in tone when discussing the political aspirations, and in their vilification of the Indian people, and even in their attacks on personages in the highest offices of the State. Such journals too, we regret to observe, enjoy a sort of perpetual immunity, and even claim to be free, from the operations of the Act. But we do not wish to labour that point. Our concern is to persuade Your Excellency, so far as the Indian Press is concerned, that the need for the Act does not exist. And we ask whether it can be said that the Indian Press is not, if honestly judged, as temperate in tone and honest in intention as the Press of those countries which are considered to be more advanced than India in modern culture and where education, at any rate, is infinitely more widespread. Is it less temperate in tone than those journals which enjoy the largest measure of popularity in England and America, in spite of the public opinion which, according to the dictum of Sir Herbert Risley, controls them every day? Is it less honest in intention? Temperate is a comparative expression and may not convey the same meaning to all minds. But we declare with the most complete confidence that it would be hard for the most austere critic of the morals and manners of the Press to make out a serious case against the Press of this country to-day of intemperate and dishonest writings as a body. The phase of intemperate and dishonest journalism which alone justified the remarks of Sir Herbert Risley at

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the time they were made, has passed away, and we ask in all justice, that the Act which was passed to suppress it should follow it into oblivion. Speaking on behalf of the Press of India, we claim to be restored to our natural status as free citizens, living under just and equitable laws administered through the ordered processes of judicial authority, and to be freed from the stigma and injustice of a law that singles us out for special treatment, takes security for good behaviour without trial and penalises without trial. We ask to be governed by the normal laws of the land which exist for everybody and to be judged, when necessity arises, in the free and impartial atmosphere of the Courts established to administer the law.

14. We do not wish to leave untouched any ground which may be alleged to exist for the justification of the contention that some law outside the ordinary provisions of the criminal codes is necessary as a preventive check on such abuses of the freedom of the Press as provoked the enactment of this measure, though we are not prepared to concede that any departure from the ordinary processes of the pre-existing laws was necessary then, and much less so now; for, as we have already pointed out, the ordinary laws governing the offences of which journals of the baser kind were guilty had already been successful in suppressing the evil. But we are aware that it may be said, that, after all, political crime still lurks in the country even if it be confined to a very small section of the population and to limited areas, and there must be some guarantee, if this Act is to be abandoned, that the class of literature which helped to sow the seeds which have produced this form of crime will not re-appear. Your Excellency, we are not here to suggest how that or any other problem which may be held to exist should be dealt with. We are here to urge upon Your Excellency the injustice and inexpediency of retaining on the Statute Book a measure which is harsh and unjust, as we trust we have been able to show, and which has been condemned by judicial authority. And we do not believe that it is necessary, or that there is any justification, in any case, for going outside the stringent provisions of the criminal codes for the suppression of any form of seditious crime which may arise. But we would ask, supposing the danger of having to contend with the resuscitation of the kind of literature which this Act was

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intended to suppress, has to be faced, is it beyond the powers of true statesmanship to frame a measure which would confine itself to the task of dealing with that danger, and that danger alone, without, at the same time, placing the whole Press of the country in fetters and rendering honest people liable to such oppressive and invidious treatment as we have had to suffer under this regrettable enactment? We refuse to believe that such a task is beyond the powers of Your Excellency's Government, and we ask that if it should be thought necessary to invest the Government with special powers to meet the possible evil to which we have referred, legislation should be devised of a wholly new character which will be strictly confined to writings of an unquestionably seditious kind and will provide for the trial of every case that arises in a court of law, where alone the issue as to whether the law has been infringed can be impartially, authoritatively and satisfactorily decided.

15. The likelihood of any such danger arising, however, is not an excuse for prolonging the existence of a measure which has proved so baneful in its effect. We would remind Your Excellency that the promises made by Government are naturally regarded in this country with a very jealous eye and the fact that the promises which were solemnly made in the Imperial Legislature on behalf of Government in regard to the scope of the provisions of the Press Act of 1910, the extent of its operation and the safeguards which were to protect those against whom its provisions were enforced from executive error, have proved to be illusory is a very grave consideration, which, we trust is sufficient in itself to convince Your Excellency of the urgent necessity for the immediate repeal of the Act. But in addition to the failure in practice to adhere to these undertakings, there are the many considerations we have urged which expose the Act as a measure encroaching on public liberty to such a grave extent as could only be justified, we venture to urge, if the whole country were seething with seditious and rebellious activities. Such is very far from the case. The loyalty of the people of India has been evinced in abundant measure during the last two years and a half, as on the occasion of the visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and by no department of public life has the cause of the Empire been more eagerly and whole-heartedly

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upheld than by the public press as a whole. May we remind Your Excellency that a few months ago Your Excellency expressed your astonishment to an American journalist at the highly-coloured accounts which had appeared in certain American journals, purporting to depict conditions in India and representing the country as labouring under an oppressive rule and shaken by revolutionary and seditious activities. We, living in the country and knowing the peaceful conditions that prevail, the constitutional character of such political agitation as is in progress, and the loyal state of mind of the people as a whole, may share Your Excellency's surprise that these erroneous reports should gain currency in a foreign country. But is there not, we would respectfully ask, some foundation on which to build these highly-coloured reports, which so gravely libel and misrepresent the Indian people, in the existence of such repressive measures as the Press Act of 1910 and the action that has been taken under it, which are also, we would respectfully urge, wholly inapplicable to the political conditions prevailing to-day in this country and an unmerited slur on the loyalty of the population. As long as such laws exist and as long as they are put into force in the way that has been done in the case of the Press Act, superficial observers may be led to believe that the necessity for them really exists in a generally seditious state of the country, rather than in the over-zealous anxiety of executive authority to restrict those popular liberties which are an essential constituent in every healthy State, and the more so in one where free institutions in the Western sense do not exist as an outlet for popular feeling.

16. In conclusion we would earnestly impress upon Your Excellency once more the need for the repeal of this Act. That repeal is as much essential in the interests of just government as it is expedient for the maintenance of the healthy progress and development of the community and the contentment of the people; for we can assure Your Excellency that, though we come here primarily to represent the grievance of those immediately affected by the Act we do so with the knowledge that we have the sympathy and support of the educated community of the country as a whole.

17. Once more we desire to express to Your Excellency our warm and sincere acknowledgment of the courtesy you have extended

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to us in receiving this deputation and the patience with which you have listened to what, we fear, has been a somewhat lengthy Address.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen,—I think you will admit that it is unusual for a Viceroy to receive a deputation of this nature ; but when you sought permission to wait on me, I put aside precedent because I thought it well to meet you face to face, to hear your representations and to give you a clear and frank answer to those representations. I presume at the time of making your request you weighed the fact that the Empire is in the throes of a life and death struggle, and that such a time is hardly the moment at which to raise even such an important matter as this, but you must not take my ready consent to receive you to mean that I considered the moment you had chosen opportune. I put aside however this consideration, though it has meant that precious time has had to be devoted to a matter which might well have awaited a more convenient season. I shall not dwell further on this point—I merely mention it because I want to show that in a matter like this I am always ready to meet those who feel they have a grievance to advance.

Let me make one more preliminary observation. You are here as representatives of the Press to complain of certain legislation which embodies the attitude of the Government of India towards certain aspects of journalism. The function of the Press in forming public opinion holds within its compass the possibilities of an ideal as high and noble as any that can be imagined. You have each and all of you the right to be proud of the profession to which you belong, and I find it

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a little embarrassing to discuss with you, however dispassionately, matters which may be taken to reflect upon the methods in which journalism is, or may be, or has been, conducted in India. You have yourselves placed me in that position and I only ask you, if you find yourselves in disagreement with what I say, to acquit me of any discourtesy and to realise that I am dealing with the question in the abstract and not in any sense whatever are my remarks to be taken as having any personal application.

You have rightly abstained from addressing to me any elaborate argument in defence of the principle of a free press. It is a principle that commands the instinctive adherence of every Englishman; I am an Englishman, and I can assure you that my education, my training, my inherited instincts all bias me in this matter and the bias is not against your case, but in favour of it. Anything in the nature of muzzling the Press strikes right across the grain of my whole being. If therefore I find that so broad-minded an Englishman as Lord Minto found it necessary to pass an Act such as that of which you complain, that so staunch an apostle of liberty as Lord Morley approved of it as Secretary of State, and that my predecessor saw no reason to relax the restrictions it imposes, I venture to think there must be a better case than you are disposed to admit in favour of this much abused Press Act.

In paragraph 3 of your memorial you say that Sir Herbert Risley, at that time Home Member, promised that the Act should be repealed when the necessity for it had ceased to exist. I will quote his words :—" I am afraid I can hold out no hopes that I am going to accept this amendment

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that it should remain in force for only three years. It will involve a very serious danger and impair the effectiveness of the Bill." Again "when we get a Press temperate in tone and honest in intention, then it will be possible to repeal the law; but we cannot predict with any degree of certainty that that end will be attained after two or three or even after five years. . . . If the people concerned have themselves applied the remedy that we desire, nothing will be easier than to repeal the Act." I think perhaps you are straining the meaning of these words when you suggest that they contain a promise and I cannot help feeling that when the time comes that he adumbrates, no one will ask for the repeal of this law, for journalists will have ceased to be tempted to step over the bounds, and will no longer regard the Press Act as, to use your own phrase, the Sword of Damocles.

In paragraph 4 you have suggested that the Press as a whole was made to suffer for the crimes of a small section and that the majority of that small section, if not all of them, had ceased to exist before the Act came into force, by the operation of the ordinary law and the failure of the demand for pernicious literature. I see in the debate on the Bill that three papers were mentioned as having been suppressed under the operation of the ordinary law, but I cannot find any authority for the statement that the supply had ceased owing to the failure of the demand for pernicious literature, and though the powers of the law may have been sufficient to check open incitement to violence the following extract from the speech of Sir Harold Stuart, at that time Secretary to the Home Department, shows that there was a great

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deal more to be done. "The existing law has failed in several directions. It has no doubt brought about a great diminution, if not an entire cessation, of open incitements to violence, and any success which has been obtained in that way is a strong argument in favour of the Bill; for such success must, I think, be attributed to the fact that for incitements of that kind—these violent incitements to murder—the offending press can be forfeited. But the application of the existing law to ordinary seditious publications, the kind of seditious matter which is defined in the Indian Penal Code, has failed to produce the desired improvement. That law has been systematically enforced since June 1907, and, as the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill pointed out, not a single prosecution has failed. Yet seditious libels continue to be published and at the present moment several cases are pending before the Courts. The punishments inflicted have been severe, but they have not been deterrent. They have not even deterred the convicted paper from offending again. We have had three papers convicted twice, and against one of these a third prosecution is now pending. We have had two papers convicted three times and we have had another paper convicted six times. In no case, however, has the prosecution deterred the conductors of those papers from again giving vent in their journals to seditious libels. Prosecution indeed often gives an advertisement to the offending paper and its circulation increases directly with conviction."

If I understand you aright you claim in paragraph 5 that the Act was directed mainly against incitements to crimes of violence and not so much against papers which erred against the provisions of sub-section (c) of clause 4, but I think if

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you will read the discussion as a whole, you will find that in the justification of the Bill more emphasis was laid upon the considerations underlying that clause than upon any other, and I find myself in honest disagreement with you about the traps and pitfalls that beset your path, for I think Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was right when in dealing with section 124 (a) of the Indian Penal Code he said in Council—“I do not believe that any man, who sincerely wished not to excite disaffection, ever wrote anything which any other honest man believed to be intended to excite disaffection.” And do we not hear almost an echo of these words in the judgment of one of the judges of the Madras High Court in the Besant case “No one could write these passages without the intention of exposing Government to hatred and contempt.”

Turning to the second portion of your paragraph 5, your argument would lead one to suppose that this Act had been worked by the Local Governments with great harshness and indiscretion. I have had a careful search made of the records of the Government of India, but I cannot find that a single case of that character has been brought to our notice. On the other hand the Government of India were careful from the first to issue instructions enjoining leniency and discrimination. In no single case has an appeal to a High Court against the Local Government's orders succeeded and in the majority of cases the Court has definitely branded the articles complained of as objectionable. Perhaps it will make the case a little clearer if we look at the statistics of the operation of this Act since 1910. Take newspapers first—143 have been warned once, 44 twice, and 30 thrice or oftener—only 3 have had the first security forfeited, not one its second.

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As regards presses—55 have been warned once, 9 twice, and 5 thrice or oftener; 13 have had their first security forfeited, only one its second.

I can not agree with you that this evidences illiberal action on the part of executive authority. And in this period, if your argument holds good, we should surely expect to find a steady diminution in the number of presses, newspapers, and periodicals,—but what are the facts? The presses have increased from 2,736 in 1909-10 to 3,237 in 1915-16, the newspapers from 726 to 857 and the periodicals from 829 to 2,927. These figures do not support the theory that a journalist's career is as perilous as you suggest.

I now turn to paragraph 6. You have devoted a great part of your representation to extracts from the judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the case of the Macedonia pamphlet and you state that the *bona fides* of the publisher was never in question. You are right. It was not in question in the High Court of Calcutta and I doubt therefore whether you are justified in basing arguments on remarks made in that Court which were beside the issue which Government was called upon to defend, and therefore of no binding judicial authority.

You have referred at some length to the *dicta* of two Indian Judges, but it may not be inopportune to remind you that the function of a judge is not to say what the law ought to be, but what it is. In the one case they have all the necessary materials for a decision, in the other none. Executive action is and must always be based upon information, upon experience, upon considerations of policy which find no place in a Court of Law. And if you read a little further

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in one of the judgments to which you have referred me you will find this distinction very clearly recognised by Sir Lawrence Jenkins himself. These are his words—"I have said that the ability to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of executive action has been withheld. There was good reason for this. Courts of Law can only move on defined lines and act on information brought before them under limited conditions. It is not so with the Executive authority. It would be paralysed if it had to observe the restrictions placed on the Courts. Its action can be prompted by information derived from sources not open to the Courts and based on considerations forbidden to them; it can be moved by impression and personal experience to which no expression can be given in a Court, but which may be a very potent incentive to executive action. The Government may be in possession of information which it would be impossible to disclose in a Court of Law, and yet obviously requiring immediate action. Therefore a jurisdiction to pronounce on the wisdom or unwisdom of executive action has been withheld and rightly withheld."

Again he says—"Political considerations and reasons of State are the life blood of executive action, but they have no place in a Court of Law." "The constitution" said Lord Mansfield, "does not allow reasons of State to influence our judgment; God forbid it should—we must not regard political consequences how formidable soever they might be; if rebellion was the certain consequence we are bound to say *Fiat justitia ruat coelum*." "The fact is that the executive and judicial authorities stand on a wholly different plane for the purpose of arriving at a decision as to the propriety of executive action. And the one cannot sit

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in judgment on the determinations of the other." I am satisfied to accept Sir Lawrence Jenkins' opinion.

As I am dealing with Sir L. Jenkins' judgment, may I refer to paragraph 11 where you quote him as laying down that the appeal against forfeiture which the Act allowed, must be ineffectual? May I not fairly say with reference to this that he was not entirely consistent with himself, for he came to the definite conclusion that the Court could not affirm that Government had been wrong in the particular case then before him. Moreover his view is contradicted by that other high authority to whom you have appealed. I mean the Chief Justice of Madras, who with his colleagues definitely held that they *were* qualified to question the verdict of the Local Government and definitely found that certain of the articles in the Besant case did *not* infringe the provisions of the Press Act, though the Local Government had come to an opposite opinion.

Returning to paragraph 6 I venture to think that when the Chief Justice of Madras gave a testimonial to Mrs. Besant of her *bona fides* and loyalty he also was dealing with an issue which was not only not before him, but with regard to which he had not the materials to formulate a decision, and I cannot but think that if he had had any knowledge of the statistics which I have given you he would have hesitated before describing the keeping of printing presses and the publication of newspapers as an extremely hazardous undertaking. As regards his remark that the vesting of such unlimited power in the Executive Government is undoubtedly a serious encroachment on the freedom which the Press in India enjoyed before the passing of the Act, I think you must be doing him an injustice when you claim it as an argument in

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favour of a change of policy. For such a pronouncement, though appropriate enough to the Council Chamber, could hardly have been intended in this sense in a Court of Law where as I have shown above it is the function of a judge to decide what the law is and not what it ought to be.

You pass on in paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 to produce a picture of official terrorism which I cannot but hope is highly coloured and you use such an expression as "the multitudinous and oppressive consequences of the Act," but you have carefully confined yourselves to the use of general terms and I do not therefore propose to reply to this part of your representation at any length.

The Association which you represent was formed only in December 1915 for the defence of the interests of the Press in general and is as yet in its infancy. You will probably become a very influential body and you say that already numerous complaints have reached you from all parts of the country of abuse of the powers that have been given by the Act. Let me repeat that it is not the wish of the Government that the Act should be administered with harshness or without discrimination and they have issued definite instructions to that effect, and let me suggest that in future, when such complaints reach you, you should investigate them with care, satisfy yourself as to their truth; and, if you are convinced that a grievance is revealed, bring it to the notice of Government. Neither Government nor Government officials are impeccable, but I think you ought to give them all alike credit for honest intentions, and assume that, if you can satisfy them that a good cause of complaint exists, they will do their best to remove it. But when you say you fear that sanction under section 4 is often too easily granted, I must

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ask you in all good faith whether the actual record of 13 cases in 6 years throughout the whole of India can seriously be taken as suggesting a reckless use of this section.

In paragraph 10 you have urged that the Act is used for purposes other than those for which it was intended, that the safeguard it contains is illusory and that action under it, which is *ultra vires*, cannot be interfered with by the Courts,—now I think the Act must speak for itself; and if, as the Chief Justice of Bengal pointed out, it goes beyond the provisions of section 153A of the Indian Penal Code or any other section of the criminal law, it is reasonable to suppose that that was its intention; and if you will read Sir Herbert Risley's remarks on the proposed amendment of section 4 (1) you will see that he clearly stated that the Bill was designed to meet the case of what was called veiled sedition which could not be dealt with by the ordinary penal law of the land. You have admitted that Sir Herbert Risley frankly stated that the Act contained only one safeguard—the appeals against forfeiture; and I have already explained that in my opinion your contention that that appeal is meaningless is refuted by the recent judgments in the Besant case.

You maintain that the learned judges held that the order of the magistrate in that case cancelling his previous order was *ultra vires*; but you have omitted to notice that the learned judges were not in agreement on the point and further that as they admittedly had no jurisdiction in the matter their remarks were in the nature of *obiter dicta*.

I have already dealt with paragraph 11 and pass to paragraph 12 in which you have devoted considerable attention to the fact that in the Macedonia pamphlet case the offending words were not specified or described and that though the

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Act is mandatory upon this point there was no remedy in a Court of Law. But let me point out that the passage from Sir Satyendranath Sinha's speech which you have quoted clearly referred not to section 12, of which the wording is entirely different, but to the other forfeiture sections and that the Macedonia pamphlet case came under section 12. I will assume that the judges were right in holding that the notification was not in accordance with law, but I venture to think you cannot attach real importance to a point like this in a representation such as you have made against the whole policy of the Press Act. The pamphlet in that case was before the Court to stand or fall on its merits—it was there for the judges to read and judge as a whole. Would the publisher have been in any better case if a few passages or specially objectionable words had been extracted for condemnation? Is it not at least arguable that the written word should be judged by its context? Can you really maintain that the publisher was prejudiced by consideration of the pamphlet as a whole? I think not, and, in this connection, I feel it not inappropriate to remind you that the principle that words and passages should be judged by their context has been accepted by the High Court of Bombay in the judgment passed in the recent Tilak case.

In paragraph 13 you claim that the Press is now honest and law-abiding, and that all necessity for restriction has disappeared. Is that not rather arguing in a circle? Because a river has been embanked and thus prevented from flooding the surrounding country, do the engineers say this river is now safe and we will not trouble to maintain the embankment? I do not think you can urge that because the floods have been controlled that the possibility of their recurrence

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has disappeared. The history of the Press in India is against your theory. In 1878 a growing section of the Indian Press was expressing covert or open hostility to Government. The passing of the Act of that year exercised a restraining influence; but when it was removed, there was a recrudescence of malevolent hostility. From 1884 to 1898 a section of the Press steadily grew more scurrilous, more malignant, more seditious, until the Penal Law had to be strengthened in 1898. But even that was not sufficient. Misrepresentation and vilification of Government and even overt sedition went steadily on until the Newspapers (Incitement to Violence) Act was passed in 1908 and it was only when that proved inadequate that the Press Act of 1910 now under discussion really checked the flood that was spreading over the land. Do not think I am framing an indictment against the Press of India as a whole or against journalism as it is now conducted. I am only recounting the facts that led up to the debates in the Legislative Council on the Act of 1910. Those debates did not touch the case of the many well-conducted and responsible papers then, any more than I am doing now. But that the danger then was great and serious I do not think that you dispute—and if you say the danger has passed away I cannot agree with you. For so long as there are papers in India, as there still are, that in pursuit of their own ends think it right to magnify the ills from which she suffers—to harp upon plague, famine, malaria and poverty and ascribe them all to the curse of an alien Government; so long as there are papers that play upon the weaknesses of impressionable boys and encourage that lack of discipline and of respect for all authority that has done so much to swell the ranks of secret revolution; so long as it is considered legitimate to stir up hatred and contempt in order to foster

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discontent, I feel that any relaxation of the existing law would be followed as surely as night follows day by a gradual increase of virulence until we should come back to the conditions that prevailed before the passing of the Act. There will be some that will hold up their hands in horror at the suggestion that such things as I have indicated are still to be found in the Press. But here is an extract that I should like to read to you :—

“ The meaning of Imperialism is that a powerful nation thinks that it is justified in depriving a weaker people of their liberty and retaining them under their rule in perpetual slavery, on the plea of civilising them and bettering their lot.”

Here is another :—

“ If the Indian rulers had given effect to the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1858, India would not have been converted into a land of permanent famine and pestilence, and its children into a race of effeminate weaklings.”

What is this but to exaggerate the ills of India and to ascribe them all to Government ?

Listen to this. It is part of a long article all in the same vein :—

“ The same feeling (of pity) possesses the populace when they stand face to face with political crimes committed by youthful and misguided idealists. They know that these young men come fully prepared for sacrificing their own lives in the discharge of the work entrusted to them. The gallows have absolutely no terrors for them. To send them to the gallows would not hinder but, on the contrary, very materially help their criminal propaganda. This has been the

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universal experience of history in these matters. Those who are already in sympathy with this criminal propaganda will not be cowed down by their chastisement; but will rather look upon their punishment as martyrdom and draw fresh inspiration from it for carrying on their work; everybody except the official mechanist and the purblind publicist understands all this."

Now hear, not what I think about it, but what a High Court Judge has to say about this article:—

"This seems to me most pernicious writing; and writing which must tend to encourage political assassination by removing public detestation of such crimes. *New India* is presumably read by numbers of excitable young men animated (and not unnaturally) by the same ideal which the writer ascribes to the assassins, but which it is impossible for any right-minded person to connect with their crimes. Such young men are practically told that the assassins are pursuing the same ideal as themselves with singular courage and disregard of self; and that such criminals should not be punished but convinced of the folly of their ways. The article presents the assassins to such young men (and to the public generally) in a far more favourable light, than any ordinary person would have viewed them in; and although it may not amount to incitement, it certainly seems to me to give *encouragement* to the commission of crimes which undoubtedly fall within section 4 (1)."

I do not wish to detain you, but I must still give you a few more extracts. A poet writes: "How long will the blood of the innocent people be shed and how long will we writhe in agony? He prays God to release Indians from this miserable condition. He complains

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that they have lost their wealth, honour and all good qualities. He enquires what can be worse than their present condition."

Another poet says : " When will the oppressions of the wicked cease in India, when will the enemies of Indians be crushed, and how long will this cruel oppression of the weak continue ?"

Yet another :—" Slavery has deprived Indians of wealth, honour and freedom and has reduced them to destitution and starvation. What further harm is it going to cause to India ? Will it drain their very blood ? It has paralyzed their limbs and muzzled their mouths. Why is it so mercilessly pursuing them ? God gave equal liberty to all ? Why then should accursed slavery be oppressing Indians."

And here is one more :—" The arrest is legal, doubtless, but it is truly unlawful, the breaking of the sacred law of Justice which holds society together. When injustice is perpetrated, when crimes are committed legally, when innocence is no protection, and harmless men are treated as criminals, then we live in a condition of anarchy, no matter what legal sanction may cover the wrong-doer. ' Civilisation ' does not protect us ; we should be better off in a state of savagery, for then we should be on our guard, we should carry arms, and protect ourselves. We are helpless ; we pay taxes to be wronged."

What are these but stirring up hatred and contempt ?

Do you come before me to-day as journalists to say that you do not regret that such sentiments should have appeared in the public press ? Do you suggest that language like this can have no ill-effect, and that you are prepared to see such

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things said every day through the length and breadth of India? Are these, I would ask you, the writings of persons "whose loyalty and good intentions and honesty of purpose are unquestioned, but who have unwittingly fallen into a trap" which the Act has laid for them? Can I judge the tree except by its fruit? These are not extracts from the old files of 1910: they are cuttings from newspapers of 1916. If the terrors of the Act to which you have so freely adverted are not sufficient to prevent the publication of such stuff as this, will you tell me what would happen if the Act were repealed? Can you blame me, if with such publications before me, and I am afraid I could find you more in the same strain, I refuse to assent to your assurance that the Press of India has purged itself, and that the time has come to accord to it once again the freedom which should be its pride no less than its privilege?

In conclusion let me thank you for the courteous hearing that you have given to so much that I fear you may disagree with, and let me ask your kindness to excuse any words that I have used that may have caused offence, remembering that this discussion was not of my seeking. You have stated your case with frankness and I have given you credit for wishing that there should be no lack of frankness in my reply.

Gentlemen, I can assure you that nothing gives me greater pain than having to reply to you as I have done. It would have been a great pleasure to have been able to meet you and to have announced the removal from the Statute Book of a measure which cannot but be regarded as a slur on the good name of the Press. For myself I recognise the importance of healthy criticism of the Government, and I always value the help which I get from such criticism. It is always by

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my orders put before me, and I can assure you that I harbour no feelings of resentment in respect of it. Now this being so, cannot your Association take the matter into your own hands? You, I am sure, deplore the extravagant statements which I have read, and you must acknowledge the mischief which they work on young and impressionable minds. I look forward to the day when Government will have no need to use such measures, for the Press itself will have taken the matter into its own hands. I beg of you to think the matter over and see whether you yourselves cannot hasten that day.

LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, DELHI SESSION, 1916-17.

Delhi, 23rd March 1917. [The last meeting of the Delhi Session (1916-17) of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 22nd March. The Budget was discussed and there was a large attendance of the general public.

His Excellency the Viceroy, who presided, closed the debate and session with the following remarks :—]

This has been a notable session and Hon'ble Members have, I think, every reason to be gratified with it. They have signified in no uncertain manner their desire to associate India with the sacrifices which our Empire has had to make in connection with this war, and I am glad to think that the Government of India, in making their offer of £100 millions to the Imperial Government, did not misinterpret the wishes of this Council. Some of you may have felt that the initiation of this policy by the Government reduced the subsequent legislative proceedings to little more than a formality, but this, believe me, is a superficial view. I can assure you that, as regards the grave issues which this Budget has raised, we

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do feel our real dependence on your support. We have acted in your name and on the strength of the mandate which you gave us in your loyal resolutions of the 8th September 1914 and the 24th February 1915 ; and we desired an endorsement of our actions which should go beyond the passing of the bills necessary to give them legal validity. It was therefore with the highest satisfaction that I found you to be in practically unanimous accord with the Government in supporting the proposals we laid before you.

I think you would all wish me to congratulate Sir W. Meyer on the skill with which he framed his Budget, on the lucidity with which he expounded it, and on the reception which it has received throughout the country. I do not minimise for one moment the heavy responsibilities which this Budget has placed upon us. There will be a sacrifice not of luxuries, not of the frills and trimmings of civilisation, but a sacrifice in large measure of the necessities of ordered government and one result must be arrested progress in education, in sanitation, in public works, and kindred subjects, which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life. But we must not despair. Indian revenues for the last 20 years have shown remarkable powers of recuperation and growth and we have every hope that, once the war is ended, we shall find ourselves after no great interval with a substantial margin of funds for further social progress. Again, this very sacrifice—and mind you, it is a trifling one compared with the sacrifices endured by other countries and nations in this war—should stimulate us all in the direction of recuperative effort, especially in respect of industrial and agricultural development, so that we may not only, by increased production, repair the ravages of this hideous war, but also meet

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the extra burdens which it has laid upon us. This war has made us realise as never before how we in India have been passing our great resources by. Thrown back on ourselves we have already increased our output of industrial products a hundred per cent in several directions, and this war will have proved a blessing in disguise if, through its teaching, we shall have learnt how great a field of enterprise lies open to us in the industrial and agricultural spheres, and how necessary it is to organise ourselves industrially. I verily believe, then, however conscious we may be at this moment of the extra burden which we have taken upon ourselves, that it lies in our own power to cope with it, and that some day, in consequence of our efforts, we shall look back to this war as the date of India's industrial birth. Time will show whether I am oversanguine in these views, but with all the earnestness in my power I would ask Hon'ble Members to think them over and decide whether they do not see their way clear to co-operating with the Government of India in bringing about such a consummation. We have during this past session had the benefit of your co-operation and advice in many matters. The Hon'ble Members for Commerce and Industry and Revenue and Agriculture have held informal but most useful Conferences with some of you on matters relating to their departments, and I know that the Hon'ble the Law Member has designs upon some of our legal Members between now and the Simla session. I see unlimited possibilities of usefulness in this direction and, as Hon'ble Members are, I think, aware, I am always personally grateful for any suggestions or advice which they can offer me. We are all members one of another and in the great task which is set before us, we can only succeed if we work together in the closest co-operation.

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It still remains for me to impress on you that is our duty, the duty of each one of us, to secure the maximum response to India's war loan. In the first place, let us remember that every million that comes from India eases not merely the exchange difficulty which we are experiencing here, but, through it, the exchange difficulty with which His Majesty's Government are confronted at home. Next, let none of us think that we have done enough until we have made the question of how much we can manage a matter of real thought and anxious contrivance. We are not asked to give outright, but to lend the largest amount which we can make available. Lastly we want all to subscribe to the loan, and we can only get the countless millions to join in, if the duty and advantage of subscribing are fully brought home to them. And for this we want propaganda work, and the more unofficial that propaganda is, the more satisfactory will be its results.

I turn to the Indian Defence Force Act. Again here I see great possibilities, and I would ask Hon'ble Members to dismiss from their minds the suspicions which seem to be entertained by some with regard to the attitude of the Government of India in the matter. The Act is confessedly a war measure and therefore temporary, but it will prove a most invaluable experiment. We shall have—it is no secret, for he who runs may read—to reorganise our Indian Army after this war and some form of second line force will probably be required. In the Indian Defence Force, raised temporarily under stress of war, there may lie the germ of such new second line. Do not ask us at such a moment as this to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure. When that time arrives,

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then criticise, as you will, the Government in respect of its policy. But for the moment I would assure you that all the subjects of your criticism are engaging our most sympathetic consideration and I would ask your co-operation in making this present scheme a success, but do not let it be marred on the ground that it does not contain all that you would desire.

And is not the imposition of an extra duty on cotton goods, thus raising the import rate to our general tariff level, an event which of itself makes this Budget and this session memorable? A grievance has thus been removed which has been for a long time a standing source of irritation. You will have noticed from the report of the proceedings in the House of Commons that the question of the Indian cotton duties will be considered afresh when the fiscal arrangements of the various parts of the Empire come to be reviewed as a whole after the war. I am sure that Hon'ble Members will agree that His Majesty's Government could not in the existing circumstances have gone further than they have done to meet India's wishes, and that none of you will question the desirability of the fiscal problems of the Empire being fully examined after the war in the light of the experience gained. The history of this recent incident in Parliament is highly encouraging to India. It has given you proof—if proof were needed—that India has true and staunch friends. It should give you confidence that, when the review of the Empire's fiscal system takes place, Indian interests will not be overlooked but will be stoutly defended.

Hon'ble Members will have noticed the communiqué which appeared in the Press stating that on military grounds recruitment of labour, except in certain cases, for places outside India will not be permitted, and the necessary rules

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under the Defence of India Act have been promulgated to secure this end. Incidentally, as a consequence, recruitment for indentured labour to Fiji, Trinidad and other West Indian Islands has come to an end. It is difficult to conceive that a traffic of this sort once ended can be revived. The Government of India welcome this result as much as Hon'ble Members, and I think we can all congratulate ourselves on the situation thus arrived at. In this matter we have had the benefit of consultation with many non-official Members, and I much appreciate the help and advice which they have been able to give us.

The rate of progress which we were making in educational projects before the commencement of the war has necessarily been retarded by the present financial stringency—but the progress itself continues, and we have been able, in spite of the financial difficulties, to provide a substantial sum, 30 lakhs per annum, for the improvement of the pay and training of teachers, a subject to which I myself attribute great importance, and I hope that the sum thus granted will be productive of much direct benefit to education in this country. I wish, however, that we had been able to make greater progress in the two University projects which were sanctioned by the Secretary of State in the time of my predecessor, namely, the projects for Universities at Patna and Dacca.

In the case of the Patna University the Bill introduced last September has been discussed in Select Committee. There is a very strong local opinion in favour of the new University, and I had hoped that we might have passed the measure this session, but we had decided that we could only pass it if it could be passed substantially without controversy,

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and it was only on Monday last that the Select Committee was able to come to a unanimous conclusion regarding the provisions of the Bill, so that it will now be necessary to defer its consideration until the September session.

As regards Dacca, I observe from a resolution brought forward in the Council on Tuesday last that some apprehension has been expressed as regards the possible abandonment of the scheme for a University. These apprehensions were met by Sir Sankaran Nair with a clear affirmation of the intention of Government to adhere to its original intention of instituting a University at Dacca, and I desire to take this opportunity of confirming in the most distinct and unequivocal manner the promise made by Lord Hardinge that a University would be founded there. I can quite appreciate the anxiety of those interested in the scheme and their wish to obtain some concrete expression of Government's intentions in the form of a Bill before the Council. You have heard the promise given by the Education Member that he would be prepared to consider the possibility of introducing such a Bill next session, but you have also heard the weighty reasons which he has given—reasons to which I personally attach considerable importance—for thinking that it may be found advisable to delay legislation until we obtain the views of the proposed Calcutta Commission.

That Commission will, I hope, begin its labours next November. Its exact size and constitution have not yet been settled, but I am glad to be able to tell you that I have secured as its President the distinguished educationist, Dr. Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. As those of you who are interested in education are aware, Dr. Sadler was for many years Director of Special Enquiries

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and Reports in the English Education Department and held till lately the Chair for the History and Administration of Education at the Victoria University of Manchester. In him we have obtained a first class authority with an immense fund of information on educational problems and a practical knowledge of their working in large cities under modern conditions. We may look forward confidently to securing under his guidance a careful study of University questions in Bengal and useful suggestions for improvement.

Coincident with this session has come the triumphant progress of our gallant troops in Mesopotamia. We have all admired the military skill and determination which has marked the leadership of our Army in the field, and we cannot forget the gallantry and endurance of the troops throughout the operations which have taken place under the most trying conditions. We need not worry over the question to whom, apart from the Generals and Army in the field, the credit of those operations is due, but I should be doing less than justice to India if I did not briefly touch upon the history of the past year. The fall of Kut marked the nadir of our fortunes. The Indian Army had been bled white in providing troops and equipment for four fronts. The breakdown on the medical side in Mesopotamia had brought a storm of obloquy on Indian administration. The hardships of a summer in Mesopotamia had decimated and sapped the strength of our troops. The sick pouring into India had placed a strain on our hospital resources, which were frankly insufficient. All this had to be remedied. It is not easy for men to concentrate attention on work when criticism, some true, much of it based on the flimsiest grounds, is showering down upon their heads. But the fact

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remains that the work has been done, and, so far as our resources have enabled us, I believe we have made up the deficiencies of a year ago. Am I going beyond the mark when I say that we ought to pay a tribute to the labours by which the late and the present Commander-in-Chief and Army Head-Quarters have accomplished this and enabled General Maude and his heroic companions-in-arms to achieve the success over which we are rejoicing to-day? History will some day record its verdict on these events and we are too near to them ourselves to be sure of our judgment, but three stages seem to stand clearly out—

The first in which India threw all she had, and far more than had ever been contemplated, into the great struggle.

The second, the inevitable breakdown, due in part to the exhaustion of our military resources, in part to adverse fortune.

The third, the patient building up again of the forces which has made our recent operations possible.

It is easy to be wise after the event, and we to day can see how things might have been ordered differently. We hope we have profited by our failures, and have atoned for them and made provision against their recurrence.

And now it is my privilege and pleasure to thank Hon'ble Members for their attendance and help during this last session. We shall meet again, God willing, in Simla, but we shall miss when we re-assemble one familiar face. The Hon'ble the Home Member hands over his office, as you know, to Sir William Vincent next month. I think Hon'ble Members would wish me to offer him Godspeed and every good fortune in the high office which he will assume towards the

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end of the year. Hon'ble Members have from time to time found themselves in disagreement with the Home Member during the past few years, but none, I am sure, will deny to him admiration for his great administrative ability and experience, and his sterling integrity of purpose. It is one of the pleasant features of political life—and I have never known it absent—that men, whatever their opinions, can recognise and acknowledge, when the dust and sound of strife have subsided, the virtues of those with whom they may have profoundly disagreed. I feel then I am voicing you as well as myself when I wish Sir Reginald Godspeed and good-luck.

And now for ourselves. *Pereunt et imputantur*,—the hours pass and are laid to our account. Our session is past and over. I trust and hope it will be accounted to us for righteousness.

Before I sit down, let me read to you a message which reached me yesterday from the Prime Minister—

“ I wish, on behalf of the British Government, to express to the Government and the people of India our most sincere gratitude for the magnificent contribution which India has just made to financing the war. Coming in addition to the enthusiasm and loyalty manifested throughout India on the outbreak of war and to the invaluable military services since rendered by the Indian Army, this gift is to us a moving proof that India shares whole-heartedly with the other subjects of the Crown in the ideals for which we are fighting in this war. That India should come forward of her own accord at this crisis and render such real and opportune assistance is not only a source of sincere satisfaction to His Majesty's

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Government, but must produce a better mutual understanding among all the races and peoples under the British Crown."

INDENTURED EMIGRATION.

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S DEPUTATION AND ADDRESS ON—

24th March 1917. [A deputation of ladies from different provinces of India waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy on the 24th March to present an address on the subject of indentured labour. This event had been looked forward to for some time, and is memorable in the history of modern India. Bombay was numerically most strongly represented, as the idea originally came from that centre, and only at a comparatively late date was it decided to make the deputation representative of the whole of India.

The following address was read by Mrs. Jehangir B. Petit:—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the women of India we wish to offer you our sincere thanks for your great kindness in receiving us to-day in the midst of the overwhelming pressure of your other engagements owing to the war. In the first place, we should like to say that we are profoundly thankful for the action of the Government of India which has put a stop to labour emigration during the period of the war. If we still encroach for a few moments upon your valuable time it is not from any political standpoint, but purely in order that we may express how, as women, we have felt the misery and shame of our sisters in the colonies as if they were our very own. It is for this reason that we have thrown aside our customary abstention from matters outside our domestic circles, and taken the unprecedented step of appearing before you in this public manner. In the name of the women of India, we come to you to plead the cause of the poor, helpless and ignorant women who are taken from our villages and made the victims of the indenture system in the colonies. It is not necessary for us here to recapitulate the evils of this system, for that has been done already by Europeans and Indians alike—the Government of India itself has condemned these evils in language as strong as any of us wish—but only to put before you how acutely we are touched and pained by

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the consciousness of the sufferings of these brothers and sisters of ours, the misery, the humiliation, the utter helplessness which must overcome our simple Indian women, who are by nature meek and timid, and unable to help themselves when they find that they have been beguiled into a situation involving complete separation from their families and homes, from their life-long associations and even their own children; the sense of degradation which immediately leads to an entire loss of self-respect, and makes them feel utterly outcast and hopeless of ever being re-admitted to the decencies of life, all these things and much else besides cannot but make an irresistible appeal to every one of us. We feel that the evils which have taken place under the indenture system have become so ingrained in the Crown Colonies affected during the past few years that no more Indians can go there in the future as unskilled labourers without the gravest moral risks. We are convinced that to preserve the self-respect and to uphold the honour of the Indian nation it is absolutely necessary that not a single Indian, man or woman, should ever go out under indenture again. We, therefore, beseech you with all the earnestness in our power to grant our prayer that the total abolition of indenture which has been already promised may actually take place during the period of the suspension of labour emigration, and that no revival of indenture in any form whatever may take place in future.

In conclusion, we beg Your Excellency to enter fully into our feelings, and to take the necessary steps to abolish permanently this system which has proved destructive to the purity and honour of Indian womanhood, and thus ensure not only our heartfelt gratitude but also firmer faith in the beneficial and righteousness of British rule.

We have the honour to be your obedient servants, Sarojini Naidu, Mehri D. Tata, Uma Nehru, Dilshad Begum, Sundrabai D. Sirur, Lakshmi Knors Srinavasa Shastri, Sudamani Ammal Knors Rangaswami Aiyengar, Saijee Jehangir Petit."

Lady J. C. Bose, Mrs. P. K. Roy, and Lady Harnam Singh were unable to attend on account of illness and other urgent reasons.

A letter signed by representative English ladies resident in India was delivered to the Viceroy by Mrs. Jehangir Petit. It was addressed

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to the Secretary of the Bombay Women's Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy, and ran as follow :—" As the deputation from the women of Bombay praying for the early abolition of indentured labour from India is to be received by His Excellency the Viceroy on March 24, we should like you to know that you have our complete sympathy in this movement. Although we shall not be with you on the occasion, we completely identify ourselves with you in the earnest hope that the Government of India will be able to secure the earliest possible termination of a system which experience has shown to be open to grave abuses.—Yours sincerely,—Mary M. Heaton, D. N. Birkett, Marjorie F. Robertson, Hazel Palmer, C. E. Arthur, A. Greaves, Lois Marten, Monnie Mayer, Hester Gray, Lorna Hogg, Amy Ord, Lilian Reed and Frances M. Hill."

A second letter from the ladies of Sind, which contained a resolution urging the final abolition of indentured labour at the earliest possible date, and expressing deep sympathy with the deputation, was also handed to the Viceroy.

Many telegrams and letters of sympathy from all parts of India were also received by the secretaries, showing the very wide interest which was being taken in the matter throughout the whole country.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Ladies,—I am unfeignedly pleased to receive you here this afternoon, and I may add that I am pleased for two special reasons—

One, that to-day is the first time I believe in the history of British rule in India that women have approached the Viceroy. There are many matters in which the Government of India would be greatly helped if they could get the advice and help of women. I need only mention the subject of women's education. I said in a speech which I made to the Directors of Public Instruction in January last that "I viewed with apprehension the growing inequality between men and women arising out of difference in

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education ; that it could not be good for a country that its women should lag so far behind men in the matter of education." I am aware that there are many obstacles arising out of social custom which stand in the way, but is not this essentially a matter in which ladies like yourselves should take counsel together and help the Government by advice and support ? Then there are other matters, for instance, hygiene, sanitation, and the scourge of consumption which seems more particularly to affect women—on all these it would be of inestimable value if women of position and education would institute a campaign of instruction amongst their fellow-country-women.

I value then this precedent which you have made to-day, as a departure of great significance and full of promise for the future.

My second reason for welcoming you is that I am always glad to meet those who wish to bring important matters to my notice.

I need hardly tell you that I have every sympathy with the object of your deputation, and that I deplore equally with you the evils to which you have alluded. It is indeed the irony of fate that a system which had been primarily devised for the protection of the Indian labourer should have produced evils which no one foresaw and no one would defend.

You will not expect from me a lengthy reply to your memorial. As you are already aware, circumstances have arisen which have put a stop to indentured immigration during the war. It is difficult to conceive that a traffic of this sort once ended can be revived.

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It may be that in the future Indian labourers may desire to leave their native land in order to seek more remunerative employment in distant Colonies, but, if that contingency arises, we shall take care that the conditions are wholly different from those obtaining under the indenture system, and I can assure you that our first thought and care in that case would be the absolute safeguarding of the honour of the women. It is my earnest hope, however, that, through the development of her industries and the consequent increase of employment, India may be able to offer her sons and daughters every inducement to remain contented in the land of their birth.

I hope then that you will realise my entire sympathy with the objects set forth in your memorial, and that I am grateful to you for having at some inconvenience, I fear, to yourselves come to Delhi to plead your cause before me.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM PESHAWAR DISTRICT
BOARD AND MUNICIPALITY.

15th April 1917. [His Excellency the Viceroy reached Peshawar in the afternoon of the 15th April.

The District Board and Municipality presented the following address :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Peshawar District Board and the Municipal Committee of Peshawar, beg to offer Your Excellency a loyal and hearty welcome to the capital of the North-West Frontier Province. We express our gratitude that amid the grave pre-occupations of the present war Your Excellency has found time to visit this remote Province and to give this proof of interest in the welfare and happiness of the people of the North-West Frontier.

2. We must first refer to the question that is foremost in all our minds, the great war now raging in the world. We are grateful that

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most of us in Peshawar have so far escaped from the hardships which many people in other parts of the world are suffering. There have been disturbances on the Mohmand border and elsewhere due to the intrigues of evilly disposed persons and the villages in some parts of the District have suffered. There has also been some dislocation of trade. But we are glad to say that owing to the military strength of the British Empire and to the blockade of the Mohmands now successfully effected by means of a barbed wire fence and also to the friendly relations maintained with the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan and with most of the frontier tribes, we are now living in peace and security.

3. We are also grateful to Your Excellency's Government for the opportunity given to us of assisting the Empire in its struggle for the freedom of the world by subscribing to the War Loan now being raised. Peshawar is not a wealthy District but we hope to raise a contribution proportionate to our means. We also ever pray for the victory of our King-Emperor and his armies and navy and we trust that Almighty God will speedily bring their efforts to a successful issue.

4. Concerning the affairs of the city there has been some distress among the urban population owing to the high price of food but in consequence of the measures taken to limit the export of wheat from India the distress has now abated. But for these measures there is reason to fear that the price of food would have risen so high that many of the non-land owning classes would have been reduced to the verge of starvation. This has now happily been avoided and though the price of food is high there is no serious distress.

5. As regards trade we are suffering from the want of facilities for the transport of goods by rail. It has now become extremely difficult to obtain or despatch goods by goods train and while recognizing the difficulties caused by the war we humbly request that some measures may be taken to give us relief in this respect.

6. We express our sincere thanks to Your Excellency's Government for the munificent grants now amounting to more than six lakhs of rupees for the sanitation of the Peshawar City. A comprehensive scheme of drainage and water-supply has now been drawn up and though much of the work cannot be taken in hand owing to the war

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we hope soon to make a beginning. The experience of the past year when we were visited with a serious epidemic of malarial fever has convinced us all of the necessity for taking sweeping measures for the improvement of the sanitation of our city. The scheme now drawn up is likely to cost considerably more than was anticipated and we fear that without further assistance we shall never be able to complete it. We, therefore, hope that Government will be able to give us further grants when normal times return.

7. The District as a whole is suffering from want of rain but thanks to the extensive assistance of irrigation there is, God willing, no danger of famine. The Upper Swat River Canal has now been completed and has brought the blessing of a certain harvest to many villages which before were entirely dependent on the precarious rainfall. The agricultural classes have also benefitted by the high prices prevailing for sugar and other products of this District, and the benefit would be still greater if railway facilities could be improved as suggested.

8. We will conclude with a prayer that Your Excellencies may enjoy a pleasant and successful visit to Peshawar and its neighbourhood.

His Excellency in reply spoke as follows:—]

It has given me great pleasure to be able to visit your historical city of Peshawar and to see for myself something of this famous frontier province and its manly people. And not the least among the pleasant impressions which I shall carry away from my visit will be a vivid recollection of the loyal and hearty welcome with which I have been greeted, and which you have now formally extended to me in your address.

You have modestly referred to your province as a "remote province." True, it is one of the extreme buttresses of the great Indian Empire, and in this sense it is remote indeed. But for that very reason it can never be long remote from the thoughts of the Government of

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India, and you need no assurance from me that the welfare of your province will always be one of my first cares.

Nothing in your address has appealed to me more than that, while gratefully recognising your happy immunity from the grievous suffering which this catastrophe of war has brought to so many parts of the world, you recognise also the greatness and justice of the issue for which our Empire is fighting, and you welcome the opportunity afforded you to share in India's contribution to the prosecution of the common cause. Your province, true to its martial traditions, has not been backward to answer the call to arms. And now that India has been privileged to share in the Empire's financial burden, I am gratified to learn that the people of Peshawar have shown marked eagerness to help. You have told me that Peshawar is not a wealthy district; it must therefore be your strong sense of patriotism which enabled you, at the meeting held here recently, to promise free-gifts amounting to Rs. 16,000 and to contribute 9 lakhs to the war loan.

Although you have been mercifully screened from the war itself, you have not been free from frontier troubles of your own. In particular you have referred to the mischievous activities of the Mohmands. But they are now being subjected to a close blockade, and we have no intention of raising it until we are satisfied that there will be no recurrence of lawlessness. When I view the frontier as a whole, however, I cannot but feel—and I say it from no lack of sympathy with the inconvenience and losses suffered and no lack of appreciation of the admirable patience with which these have been borne—that it is a matter for congratulation that these frontier troubles have not been greater. For with so

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many disturbing influences at work, it would not have been surprising if we had been confronted with widespread trouble on our borders. As it is, the great mass of the tribesmen have turned a deaf ear to the importunate intrigues of our enemies, and the frontier as a whole has stood solidly loyal. And herein I would like specially to mention the excellent example set by the Afridis, whose good sense and fidelity to their engagements have proved a valuable asset. Further, I would once more gratefully recognise the debt we owe to the staunch and sagacious statesmanship of our friend and ally, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. I would also take this opportunity of recording both my own and your obligations to the skill and devotion of your Chief Commissioner, Sir George Roos-Keppel, and of the whole body of officers serving under him.

In your address you allude to the restrictions which have been placed on the export of wheat from India. These restrictions were designed to prevent hardship to the Indian consumer; but the Government have also had to look to the interests of both the Indian cultivator and the British consumer. Our policy has been to retain in the country sufficient stocks for internal consumption, and to allow the surplus to be exported. Remunerative prices have thus been secured to the producer in India, while welcome supplies have been provided for consumption in the United Kingdom. It has not been easy to reconcile all the conflicting interests, and I am glad to learn from your remarks that the limitations placed on export have brought substantial relief to the urban population of this district.

The recent heavy restrictions on railway traffic to which you refer were rendered necessary primarily by the shortage

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of coal due to short raising at the collieries and to the heavy demands made by the Navy, but the coal-supply has improved very considerably, and railway stocks are now being replenished.

These heavy restrictions have necessarily resulted in an accumulation of goods traffic which even in normal times would involve a temporary dislocation of traffic. The position is however improving, and it is hoped that the few restrictions still in force will be withdrawn before very long. There have been, I am aware, foolish rumours on the subject of recent railway restrictions and these have been ignorantly attributed to such causes as the movement of troops. After what I have said, I need not tell you further how completely without foundation such rumours have been.

You allude to the help which has been given by the Government of India towards the financing of the scheme for the drainage and water-supply of Peshawar City. You have before you in this scheme a very difficult and intricate problem, and we have always felt that the sanitation of your city is a matter of more than local interest. We have recognised that your scheme is one which local resources cannot meet and we have, as you justly recognise, been generous in our financial help. We are giving you another lakh this year and we had hoped that this would be our final instalment, but I see you threaten a further attack on us. I can only say that I hope you will be very moderate in your proposals. We shall give them every consideration, but you will remember that our resources are limited, and that we have other claims on such funds as we possess.

Gentlemen, in again thanking you for your welcome, I would say that I hope and believe that your loyal prayers for the complete victory of His Majesty's forces will be fulfilled in the not distant future.

TRIBAL REVIEW AT RAWALPINDI

5th April
1917.

[On the occasion of the Viceroy's recent visit to Rawalpindi, a review of leading representatives and veterans of the Rawalpindi Division was held in order that His Excellency might have an opportunity of congratulating those who have done such good work in supplying men to the Indian Army since the outbreak of war. At the conclusion of the review the Viceroy delivered the following remarks to those present :—]

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have this opportunity of paying a visit to the Rawalpindi Division which has had for so long an honourable association with the army. It is now 60 years since you in association with John Nicholson in these parts first forged the links which have ever since bound you so closely to the British Government in India.

These last three years have heard the call to arms once more sounded through your towns and villages and the Rawalpindi Division has made a noble response. At the commencement of the great war some 20,000 men of this Division were serving in the combatant ranks of the British Army. Since the 4th August 1914 the Division has furnished at least 35,000 new recruits to the Indian Army, and an equal, or, perhaps, a greater, number of non-combatants, who are working in various capacities to supply the multifarious needs of our armies in the field.

Gentlemen, if I had more time at my disposal I should have liked to refer in greater detail to the exploits which have added to the fame of your Division, to the distinctions which have been won by your kith and kin, and to the tale of gallant lives which have been laid down in defence of liberty and of the Empire.

I must, however, content myself by telling you how deeply I have been impressed by the reports which have

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reached me from many theatres of war, bearing witness to the staunchness and fine soldierly qualities of the men recruited from the fighting clans of the Rawalpindi Division, whose representatives are gathered before me to-day.

Finally, I would pay a tribute to those who, unable to play a part themselves in the great conflict, have zealously laboured to win for your Division the pride of place amongst all the Divisions of the Province which is justly distinguished by the proud title of the Sword Arm of India.

CONVOCATION OF THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

CONFERMENT OF DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS ON THE VICEROY AT LAHORE.

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford and Staff 13th April
arrived at Lahore on the 12th April and were accorded an enthusiastic 1917.
reception. In the afternoon of the 13th idem His Excellency the
Viceroy, who is Patron of the Punjab University, accompanied
by Lady Chelmsford, attended on Friday a special Convocation of
the University at 5-30 P.M. His Excellency was received by the
Chancellor, His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-
Governor, and the Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.I., Financial
Commissioner, the Vice-Chancellor, and was accompanied by them and
the other members of the Senate to the dais. Lady Chelmsford oc-
cupied the seat on the right and the Lieutenant-Governor that on the
left of the Viceroy. The Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the
Raja of Faridkot, as well as the Municipal Committee, headed by Mr.
Tollinton, Deputy Commissioner, and representatives of the Sikh,
Mahomedan and Hindu communities, many civil and military officers
and others witnessed the ceremony by which His Excellency became
Doctor of Laws of the University. A number of ladies were present

Convocation of the Punjab University.

both in the hall and the galleries, in a portion of which *purdah* arrangements had been made.

The dais was beautifully upholstered, and at the foot was spread a plush carpet with gold borders. After His Excellency had taken his seat, the Chancellor declared the Convocation open. The Hon'ble Mr. Maynard then read the resolution of the Senate of March 31st, in which it was resolved to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws on the Viceroy. In doing so he referred to His Excellency's distinguished academic career, to which he said the degree of Doctor of Laws was a fitting culmination. He also spoke of His Excellency's work on the London County Council, and in the cause of higher education and to his interest in University matters which led to the present enquiry into the affairs of the Calcutta University. He invited the Chancellor in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor and on behalf of the Senate to confer the degree upon the Viceroy in accordance with the resolution of the Senate (which had declared him a "fit and proper person" to receive it) under section 17 of the Universities Act. A proclamation of admission was then read by the Registrar, Mr. Woolner, who placed the crimson robes of the degree on His Excellency's person, while His Honour signed the diploma.

Lord Chelmsford said he had no intention of making a speech, but it would be ungracious if he did not say how much he thanked the University of Lahore for conferring on him the highest honour in the Faculty of Law. His Excellency assured the Convocation of his deep interest in the welfare of the Punjab University. He said that as Chancellor of the Calcutta University he held one of the most responsible positions in the country, and he was glad that the Senate recognised that he took an interest in that University's prosperity. Nothing that pertained to a university could be without interest to himself.

[After the Viceroy's speech, the Chancellor declared the Convocation closed.]

ADDRESS FROM THE LAHORE MUNICIPALITY.

[At the conclusion of the Convocation of the University, the President, of the Municipality asked for permission to present the Municipal address, which was read by Rai Bahadur Milkhi Ram, Vice-President, and which was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the citizens of Lahore belonging to all classes and creeds we, the President and Members of the Municipal Committee, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a sincere and hearty welcome on this your first visit to our ancient city and the Punjab and we trust that Your Excellencies will receive a favourable impression of the capital of the province and will be able to renew your acquaintance with it on many future occasions.

In the matter of schools and colleges, Lahore is rapidly growing into one of the most important educational centres in India, and it is the head-quarters of one of the largest railway administrations in the world. The splendid monument to the memory of our late revered King-Emperor Edward VII the Peacemaker, in the enlarged Hospital, Medical College and Bacteriological Institute, is nearing completion and is, perhaps, one of the finest institutions of its kind in India, as also are the Veterinary College and Hospital.

We are deeply grateful to Government for the generous help which has been afforded to us from time to time in the improvement and beautification of our city and civil station. The demands made on the Committee are many and varied, and were it not for the assistance we have received from Government in the past we are conscious that the difficulty of combining two such different localities as the city and civil station under one Municipal administration would have taxed our energies to the uttermost. We are confident that in future, too, we shall continue to receive similar favours from Government, in order to enable us to complete the many improvements which are still urgently required. A great deal has already been done to improve the amenities of Lahore, but much still remains to be done, especially in the direction of an efficient drainage system and in improvement of the water-supply. Schemes for these improvements have been prepared and submitted to the Punjab Government for sanction but they will involve very heavy expenditure amounting to over half a crore of

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rupees and the Committee hopes to be able to meet the outlay from its own resources supplemented by a loan, and by the generous assistance that Government has already granted.

We are proud of our city and the position it holds as the Capital of a Province which has been rightly characterized as the 'Swordarm' of India, and the abiding loyalty of whose people to the British Crown has been demonstrated on every possible occasion from the dark days of the Mutiny of 1857 down to the immediate present. We are also proud of the gallant part played by the sons of the Punjab in the greatest war known to history and of the fact that nearly two-thirds of the fighting forces contributed by India to fight the battles of our beloved King-Emperor are drawn from the martial races of the Land of the Five Rivers. We earnestly pray for early termination of this terrible war and for a complete victory of the Allied Arms.

In conclusion we beg to offer our grateful thanks to Your Excellencies for the honour you have done our city by the gracious visit and we venture to hope that Your Excellencies will carry away pleasant recollections of our city, of its educational and other institutions, and of its beautiful surroundings.

His Excellency made the following reply:—]

Gentlemen of the Municipality of Lahore,—I thank you very heartily for the cordial welcome you extend to Lady Chelmsford and myself.

It gives me great pleasure to meet the Municipal representatives of the Capital of the Punjab. Your task can be no light one, but your fine and well-kept Mall and the numerous handsome buildings, public and private, which have sprung up afford satisfactory evidence, not only that you realise the importance of having a good shop-window, but also that you are successful in attracting customers. I speak only of what I have seen, but I hope that in the more humdrum, but equally important branches of municipal endeavour you are no less efficient agents for the public weal of your

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townsfolk. Further opportunity will, I trust, be given me of judging for myself of your work in catering for the needs of this great city.

There is a tendency, I understand, among the more well-to-do inhabitants to migrate from the city to the suburbs, and the value of suburban sites has consequently been greatly enhanced. I hope that both those who now enjoy the amenities of suburban life, and the land-owners who are reaping profit, do not fail to reflect that these benefits are mainly due to the security established by the British *Raj*.

Now one word as to your municipal policy. Let me advise you to forecast your needs on broad and generous lines. Rapid as has been your growth, there are unmistakable signs that, given normal conditions, your expansion must continue. You have here the head-quarters of a great railway, where already 17,000 workers are employed. You offer wide educational facilities. You are an emporium of the trade of Northern India, and the capital of a great and flourishing province. I have had to do with cities which have grown up under similar conditions to yours and where the present generation has had to lament the lack of foresight shown by those who have gone before. Look to your future, then, and so trace your designs that the citizens of a later day may enjoy elbow-room and praise your prescience.

You acknowledge in generous terms the assistance which you have received from Government in the past. You may rest assured that so long as your conduct of municipal affairs continues practical and efficient, Government will stand by you. Your reference to your drainage system and water supply indicates that you have great practical problems now

Address from the Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

engaging your attention. I trust that they will be solved on lines which will do credit both to you and to your city.

The wide range of a Municipal Committee's activities calls for a very high standard of civic duty on the part of its members. My public life in the past has been largely in municipal administration and I should like to assure you of my interest in your work, and also of my conviction of its great value and importance, not only in itself but also as a training—perhaps in these days the best possible training—for larger public life.

I thank you sincerely again for the warmth of your reception and wish you all success.

ADDRESS FROM THE MUHAMMADAN COMMUNITY OF THE
PUNJAB.

13th April
1917.

[The address was presented by the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi, the following gentlemen forming the deputation :—

The Hon'ble Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I., of Maler Kotla, Member, Imperial Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Member, Imperial Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Behram Khan, Mazari, K.C.I.E., Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khawaja Usuf Shah, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Malik Muhammad Amin Khan, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sayad Mehdi Shah, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Mirza Ikram Ullah Khan of Wazirabad, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Makhdum Sayad Rajan Shah, Member, Punjab Legislative Council; the Hon'ble Subadar-Major and Honorary Captain Ajab Khan, Sirdar Bahadur, I.O.M., Member, Imperial Council, Honorary Magistrate, Attock; Nawab Fateh Ali

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Khan Kazilbash, C.I.E., President Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab; Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh, C.I.E., President, Council of Regency of Bahawalpur State; Khan Bahadur Nawab Muhammad Saifulla Khan; Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Khan, Vice-President, Punjab Muslim League; Khan Bahadur Sardar Muhammad Ali Khan Kazilbash, Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Lahore; Khan Bahadur Shaikh Riyaz Hussain, C.I.E.; Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq; Khan Bahadur Khan Ahmed Shan; Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din, retired District Judge; Khan Bahadur Chaudhri Karm Elahi; Khan Bahadur Seth Adamji Mamoonji; Diwan Sayed Muhammad Sahib; Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh; President, All-India Kashmiri Conference; Khan Bahadur Raja Muhammad Akbar Khan, Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Jhelum; Khan Bahadur Mir Muhammad Khan, Pleader, Chief Court; Khan Sahib Khawaja Gul Muhammad Khan, Pleader, Chief Court; Khan Sahib Shaikh Khair-ud-Din, retired District Traffic Superintendent; Mirza Ijaz Hussain, Pleader, Chief Court; Maulvi Fazil Maulvi Fazal Din, Pleader, Chief Court; Khan Muhammad Bashir Ali Khan, Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner; Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, Pleader, Chief Court; Maulvi Abdul Haye, Pleader, Chief Court; Kawaja Nizam-ud-Din; Mian Haq Nawaz, B.A., Barrister-at-Law; Haji Shams-ud-Din; Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Barrister-at-Law; Maulvi Muhammad Insha Ullah, Editor, *Vatan*; Sardar Habib Ullah Khan, Barrister-at-Law; Shaikh Muhammad Umar, B.A., Barrister-at-Law; Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kiclew, Barrister-at-Law. The address was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency.—We, the office-bearers and members of the Punjab Muslim League and its various branches, of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam and of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Punjab, crave permission to offer Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford, on behalf of the Muslim community of this Province, a most loyal and respectful welcome on this Your Excellencies' first visit to the capital of the Punjab. We had been earnestly hoping to have an opportunity of welcoming Your Excellency under conditions different from those in which the Empire has been placed since August 1914. But the war clouds still darken the atmosphere of many an ancient land once smiling in peace and plenty; and the restoration of the normal conditions of

Address from the Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

civic life is yet an uncertain prospect. The part played by India in this world-crisis in support of the cause of righteousness and civilisation and in upholding the honour and glory of England has brought into being new forces and conditions which are destined to strengthen still further the bonds that hold together the different parts of the British Empire. The Indian Mussalmans have, in circumstances absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world, given signal proof of their abiding loyalty to the British Crown by sacrificing their lives on the battlefields of three continents, by furnishing to the Indian Army recruits in excess of the proportion the community bears to the total population of British India, and by upholding the cause of law and order within the borders of the Indian Empire. In common with the rest of their co-religionists, the Punjab Mussalmans have, by their whole-hearted devotion to the British cause at this critical juncture, fully carried out the assurance which was given to His Excellency the Earl of Minto in the address of welcome presented to him by the Punjab Muslim League on the occasion of His Excellency's visit to Lahore in 1909. 'Whenever and wherever,' it was said in that address, 'the interests of the British Administration may so require, we Mahomedan subjects of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor will be unfaltering in our loyal support of law and order not by means of words merely, but by acts and deeds due from us as a tribute of grateful service in return for the enjoyment of invaluable advantages accruing from an enlightened and progressive system of government.' We beg to assure Your Excellency that the valued privilege of defending our Motherland, so generously enlarged by Government in the recently enacted Indian Defence Act, will be fully availed of by the Punjab Mahomedans, who thoroughly realise their sacred duty of loyally assisting Government in protecting this ancient land against external aggression and internal commotion. Confident of the ultimate triumph of the cause of righteousness we devoutly pray for the complete victory of the British arms over an enemy whose flagrant disregard of international law and of the rules of civilised warfare proclaim him the greatest enemy of the human race.

When Your Excellency's appointment as the representative of our august Sovereign in this country was first announced, all sincere

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well-wishers of India rejoiced at the prospect of having at the head of Government a statesman who, in addition to a distinguished scholastic career at the University and the Inns of Court, had obtained his civic training on the London County Council and had represented, with conspicuous success, His Imperial Majesty in two self-governing Colonies. Your Excellency's first official pronouncement on your arrival in Bombay assuring the continuity of Lord Hardinge's sympathetic policy sent a thrill of hope and confidence through all sections of the people. That hope and that confidence have been already realized, in part, not only by reason of the steps taken by Your Excellency's Government towards affording our countrymen wider opportunities of taking an active share in the defence of their Motherland but also by the announcement made by Your Excellency, in reply to the Agra Municipal Address, that primary education, the training of teachers, the improvement of female education and the co-ordination between the various spheres of primary, secondary and University education were engaging the earnest attention of the Government of India. Your Excellency's pronouncement at the opening of the recent Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council, announcing the despatch to the Secretary of State of a scheme of reforms prepared, we are convinced, at Your Excellency's initiative, by the Government of India, constituted another indication of the fact that Lord Hardinge's mantle has fallen on the worthy shoulders of an equally sympathetic Viceroy. The projected scheme of reforms will, we hope and trust, satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country.

We beg to avail ourselves of this opportunity to state that the Punjab Mahomedans are fully alive to the needs of the times and are utilizing all the means which an enlightened administration has placed within their reach to regain their proper place among their fellow-countrymen. Realizing that national regeneration is dependent mainly on the acquisition of modern arts and sciences, they are concentrating their communal energies upon the establishment of educational institutions all over the Province. Their ambition is to establish a High School at the headquarters of every district with branches to serve as feeders. And although much remains to be done before the desired goal can be reached, we have the satisfaction to be able to state that

Address from the Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

a great deal has been already accomplished in this direction. The Lahore Islamia College, which is managed by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, the premier educational body among Mahomadans in this Province, which also maintains 2 High Schools, 23 Elementary and 10 Girls' Schools as well as an orphanage, has made striking progress in recent years. The liberal grant of Rs. 30,000 per annum made to this College by the Government of India, on the recommendation of His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, has enabled the College Committee to introduce various improvements in its teaching staff and equipment, with the result that the number of scholars has increased from 238 in 1913 to 475 in 1916. The annual expenditure of the College has risen from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 1,02,000, of which Rs. 62,000 is for current expenses. The continuance of the grant, for which the community is deeply grateful to Government, will, we assure Your Excellency, prove a source of incalculable benefit to our educational advancement and enable us to introduce much-needed further improvements in an institution which may rightly be termed the centre of Muslim educational activity in the Punjab. We consider it our duty to acknowledge the heavy debt of gratitude which the community owes to His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his active sympathy and benevolent interest in promoting the cause of Muslim education in this Province.

The Muslim Community is deeply grateful to Government for the solicitude shown by it towards the preservation and improvement of our sacred buildings. The Badshahi Mosque of Lahore, which, with some other religious buildings, is under the management of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, has already received considerable aid from the public exchequer, and we trust that the Government will be pleased to continue its help, as financial conditions permit, in the completion of the work of restoration of this ancient monument.

We deem it inappropriate on an occasion like this, when offering to Your Excellency a cordial welcome to the capital of this province, and particularly in view of the war conditions, to mention in detail our communal needs or to enter into a discussion of controversial subjects. Without transgressing the bounds of propriety, however, we may be permitted to express an earnest hope that whatever constitutional and other reforms may be introduced in this country after

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the war, Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to remember the just claims of the Muslim Community and will grant them their due share in the rights and privileges that may be conferred on the people of this ancient land.

To Your Excellency's noble Consort we beg leave to offer our Community's respectful greetings. Her Excellency has already won the deep gratitude of our people by her participation in the work of the many philanthropic Associations of which Her Excellency is the Lady President and by her keen solicitude for the welfare of Indian womanhood, a solicitude which has induced her to acquire a knowledge of Urdu, the *lingua franca* of India, to enable her to converse with Indian ladies in their own language.

In conclusion, we beg once again to offer to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Punjab Mahomedans a most cordial welcome to Lahore and to express our sincere hope that Your Excellency's tenure of office as Viceroy will prove a source of manifold blessings to His Majesty's Indian subjects and will mark the dawn of a new era of contentment and prosperity and civic progress of our countrymen whom a wise Providence has placed under the fostering care of the British Crown.

His Excellency made the following reply:—]

Gentlemen,—My first visit to the North of India, where Muhammadans have played, are still playing and must always continue to play, a leading part, takes place at a time when, in spite of trials and difficulties, the Muhammadans of the Punjab are yielding striking and noble service in the great struggle in which the Empire is engaged, and the honour which the Muslim Community of the Punjab have accorded me to-day in presenting an address of welcome of so cordial and kindly a character is a source of peculiar pleasure to me. I know well how steadfast your community have remained in their loyalty in spite of circumstances which must often have aroused feelings of pain. You have contributed large numbers to the fighting forces of the King-Emperor and many have

Address from the Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

shed their life's blood in his cause. These are facts that cannot be forgotten, and you may rest assured that, as in the past so in the future, Government will ever keep a watchful eye upon your interests.

You have deliberately avoided controversial topics and I thank you for showing me this consideration. Do not forget that the policy of Government is always one of equal opportunities and that the benefits to be derived from equal opportunities can only be realised if all classes are equally zealous to make the best of the opportunities which are given them. When it can be shown that the opportunities are not equal there is a case for the Government to help, but when they are equal then it is for the community to take action and the Government is powerless. You will, I feel sure, recognise the justice of this principle. You would not wish to be judged by any other. Your salvation lies in your own hands and I see evidences on all sides that you are alive to the importance of gaining and holding, through self-help, the position which is your due.

I recognise — and I recognise with pleasure — the efforts which you have been making to encourage the spread of education among your community. Owing to the predominance of agriculture as an occupation, owing to inherent conservatism and other causes, you have much leeway to make up, but statistics show that you are progressing. In these efforts you have the fullest sympathy and support of the Government. As you are aware we made enquiries four years ago as to the best means of improving and extending the education of Muhammadans throughout India. Your Anjumans have been fully consulted on the subject and their co-operation has, I understand, been found most helpful to the Local

Address from the Muhammadan Community of the Punjab.

Government. Our enquiries led to the grant, which you mention, of Rs. 30,000 to the Islamia College and I am glad that the grant — which it has always been our intention to treat as a continuing and recurring grant — has already led to such improvements both in the number of students and in the strength of the staff. I do not know how your scheme for the transfer of the College to Shahdara now stands, but the Government was, if you remember, ready at one time to consider whether it could help in such a scheme. Such help cannot of course be given in present conditions, but should circumstances improve and the scheme be found a desirable and feasible one I am convinced that we should be ready to consider the possibility of rendering you some degree of assistance in the project. You may at any rate be sure of sympathy in this and your other schemes from your Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He has as you know served most of his time in this Province on what may be called the Muhammadan side of the Ravi and he subsequently served for many years as Revenue Commissioner in the Frontier Province : so that he has full knowledge of your conditions and can fully and sympathetically appreciate your educational needs.

You have mentioned your historic monuments and I am glad that you appreciate what has been done to maintain the numerous old tombs and mosques which add so much to the beauty and interest of Lahore and of the Province at large. There are few things that I regret more among the indirect results of the war than the necessity which has been imposed on us to reduce expenditure on archaeological works, but you will readily recognise that this is a department of expenditure which we are bound to curtail when money is so urgently

Address from the Hindu Community of the Punjab.

wanted elsewhere. The restoration of the Badshahi Mosque to which you specially refer is a case in point, and the repairs which your community and the Government have been jointly carrying out in that fine building must of necessity, so far as Government is concerned, proceed slowly during the war.

In conclusion, let me thank you on behalf of Lady Chelmsford for the kindly reference you have made to her in your address. In the many branches of work which from day to day claim her attention she will find the knowledge and experience gained in the course of her visit to the Capital of the Punjab a constant source of the greatest help.

ADDRESS FROM THE HINDU COMMUNITY OF THE PUNJAB.

13th April
1917.

[Sir P. C. Chatterjee presented the address by the Hindu Community, the following gentlemen forming the deputation :—

Raja Fateh Singh; Sri Baba Gurbukhsh Singh Bedi; Hon. R. B. Ram Sarn Das; R. S. Dr. Hira Lal; Dr. Maharaj Krishna Kapur; Mehta Bahadur Chand; Hon. Diwan Bahadar Daulat Rai; Hon. Bakhshi Sohan Lal; S. B. Narain Singh Nalwa; R. B. Hari Chand; Pt. Din Dyal, R. B. Jai Lal; Lala Brij Lal Puri; Hon. Pt. Jawahar Lal; Mr. Jai Gopal Tandon; Lala Gopal Chand; Mr. Roshen Lal; R. B. Gopal Das; Hon. Raizada Bhagat Ram; Dr. Jagan Nath; R. B. Devi Chand; Lala Mool Chand; Diwan Krishna Kishore; R. B. Girdhari Lal; Bhagat Ishar Das; Sardar Sohan Singh; R. B. Mohan Lal; S. Hari Singh. The address was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Hindu Community of the Punjab we, the representatives of the Punjab Hindu Sabha, beg to offer to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a most cordial and loyal welcome on the present occasion of Your Excellency's first visit to the capital of this province. And we humbly request Your Excellency to convey to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-

Address from the Hindu Community of the Punjab.

Emperor our deep feelings of steadfast loyalty and fervid devotion to the British Crown.

At the present time when Your Excellency's undivided attention as the ruler of the great Indian Empire is claimed by the serious and pressing problems raised by the gigantic world war in which our gracious Emperor is engaged, we do not wish to address Your Excellency on the many questions that exercise the minds of the Hindu Community of the Province. We pray that the might of British arms assisted by Britain's noble allies may be crowned with early and decisive victory and that the threat to civilisation and humanity held out by the enemy powers be removed for ever by the final overthrow of German militarism. The present European war has demonstrated in a clear and forcible manner the blessing British rule is to India. In the midst of the most terrible destruction and slaughter that the world has ever witnessed India has enjoyed unbroken peace and tranquillity protected by the invincible might of the British Navy and the forethought and wisdom of her Rulers. The people of India are deeply grateful for the high privilege accorded to her soldiers of fighting for their Emperor on the battlefields of Europe, and we are proud of the glory with which our Hindu brethren of the Province have covered themselves in the various theatres of war. We assure Your Excellency that the present war has stirred our deepest springs of loyalty, and our hearts feel a genuine pride in being allowed to share in the Empire's burden in this hour of stress. We are happy and proud to place all our resources in men and money at the service of our gracious Sovereign.

We have watched with keen interest the many weighty pronouncements in which Your Excellency, since the assumption of your high office of the King's representative and the ruler of the Indian Empire, has expressed your solicitude for the welfare of this country, and we are specially grateful for the statesmanlike manner in which Your Excellency has secured India's representation on the Council of the Empire to consider post-war problems. It is our earnest hope that Your Excellency's term of office will be noted for a just recognition of India's claims within the British Empire, and by a marked increase of happiness, contentment and prosperity in the country.

Address from the Hindu Community of the Punjab.

We, the Hindus of the Punjab, are inspired with full confidence that our interests will receive fair and impartial recognition during Your Excellency's administration.

We thank Your Excellency for the kind hearing accorded to this humble address.

His Excellency replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you on behalf of myself and of Lady Chelmsford for the kind terms in which you have welcomed us on this our first visit to the Capital of the Punjab. This is, as you say, a time at which the consideration of many important questions connected with the internal interests of India and the welfare of particular communities must give place to the paramount problems which confront the Empire. I appreciate the consideration which you have shown in refraining from raising in your address matters affecting chiefly your community, and while thanking you for this I would ask you to look for a moment at an aspect of affairs which I sometimes think receives but scanty attention from the Indian public. The present is a time at which nearly all the greatest world-powers are engaged in a life and death struggle, which requires the concentration of all their energies upon the emergency of the moment. Perhaps the only part of the British Empire, where the problems of the future occupy the most important place in the writings and speeches of public men at the present time, is India, and surely this is a remarkable if unconscious tribute to the British Government, whose strength and efficiency has protected India from the calamities and disorders that have afflicted almost every other part of the civilized world.

You have expressed your gratitude for this immunity from the horrors and violence of war and you have now an

Address from the Hindu Community of the Punjab.

opportunity of showing practical proof of this feeling by participating to the full extent of your resources in the Indian war loan. I say this to you more particularly as the representatives of the community by which the commerce and capital of this province is largely controlled. Many of you have, I know, already given support to the loan, but your power of assistance in making the loan a success is not limited to your own financial resources.

Some of the representatives of Indian public opinion have hinted that in contributing 100 millions towards the Empire's war expenses, India is being called upon to do more than can reasonably be expected of her. I would ask those who raise this plea to remember that India's contribution represents, so far as the war is concerned, a little more than a fortnight's expenditure. Can it be said that it would be in consonance with India's dignity and her potentialities to offer less? I do not deny the sacrifice India is making, but we must meet it by increased effort in the development of our agricultural and industrial resources, which are, humanly speaking, limitless. As you are aware, we have appointed a Board to take in hand the development of our resources for war purposes. If the work of this Board proves, as I have every reason to believe it will, fruitful of good results, I hope that we may utilise it at the end of the war as a Development Board, which may take up the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and press on the development of India's great resources. We must remember that besides her great agricultural and industrial potentialities India has a special strength in the power of her numbers, numbers such as have never yet been harnessed to the service of any State. In order to utilise to the full the force

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of her numbers some organization is necessary. For such organization Government must rely largely on the energy, intelligence and patriotism of the Hindus. I have seen it stated that what the Government of India look forward to is industrial development which will ensure the benefit of the European community alone. Believe me this is a great mistake. If this was so, the Industrial Commission would indeed have been appointed in vain. We look forward to a great advance in the development of Indian Industries, and we aim at enabling Indians to fit themselves for such a task. Government can do no more than this. It remains for you and men like you to bring home to the less-educated members of your community the opportunities which we hope will lie before them and to urge them to fit themselves to grasp them when they come.

You have expressed your gratitude that the soldiers of India have been permitted to fight for the Empire in Europe. The record of the Dogras, Jats, Rajputs and Brahmins of the Punjab both in Europe and in other spheres of operations is one of which you may well feel proud. The highest reward for valour has been given to more than one of your co-religionists by His Majesty the King-Emperor and these rewards are not given unless they have been earned by exceptional bravery and devotion to duty. It was a great pleasure to me to meet some weeks ago at Rohtak some of the gentlemen who had assisted Government in securing recruits among the Jats. I congratulated them on the splendid results achieved and I now repeat those congratulations to you as the representatives of all classes of Hindus and I am confident that your efforts will not be relaxed.

Address from the Sikh Community.

There is one other matter upon which I wish to congratulate you before I conclude. At a time like the present, when there is much wastage of man-power taking place and many new ideas are stirring in men's minds, it is particularly necessary to educate the youth of the country on right lines and to train their minds to discriminate the good from the bad. One of the strongest foundations of your religion is education and you in this Province have well fulfilled your trust by founding and equipping without any assistance from Government such institutions as the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, the Dayal Singh College and the new Sanatan Dharm College. I wish you all success in your endeavours and am confident that these institutions will produce men worthy to carry on the traditions both of your religion and of the British Empire.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I thank you again for your cordial welcome. It will give me great pleasure to comply with your request that your feelings of steadfast and loyal devotion to the British Crown may be conveyed to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

ADDRESS FROM THE SIKH COMMUNITY.

[The address of the Sikh Community which was presented to His Excellency the Viceroy at Lahore on the 13th April was read by the Hon'ble Mr. Sunder Singh : the following members composed the Deputation :—

13th April
1917.

Bhai Sahib Arjan Singh, S.B., of Bagrian (Ludhiana), President, Chief Khalsa Diwan ; Sirdar Raghubir Singh, Sandhanwalia, Amritsar ; S. B. Sirdar Lachman Singh, Rais of Buriya (Ambala) ; S. B. General Gurnam Singh, Home Secretary, Patiala ; Tikka Ram Narain Singh of Anandpur ; S. B. Sant Singh, President, Regency of Council, Kalsia ;

Address from the Sikh Community.

R. B. Sirdar Baghail Singh, Taluqdar, Bhungah Estate, U. P.; Sirdar Hari Singh, of Wahali, Jhelum; the Hon'ble S. B. Partap Singh, of Lyallpur; the Hon'ble S. B. Gajjan Singh, of Ludhiana; S. B. Kirpal Singh, Man, Gujranwala; Sirdar Mangal Singh, Man, Honorary Magistrate, Gujranwala; R. B. Sirdar Narain Singh, Contractor, Delhi; Sirdar Mehr Singh, Chowla, Honorary Magistrate, Lahore; Sirdar Attar Singh, Merchant, Karachi; Bhai Sahib Shib Sham Singh, Rais Jumba, Ferozepore; Risaldar Major (Honorary Captain) Bakhshi Jagat Singh, S. B., of Khantrila, Rawalpindi; S. Raja Singh, Pleader, Peshawar; Baba Sir Gurbaksh Singh, Bedi, Kt., Rawalpindi; S. B. Narain Singh, Nalva; S. B. Sirdar Arur Singh, C.I.E., Manager, Durbar Sahib, Amritsar; R. B. Sirdar Boota Singh, C.I.E., of Rawalpindi; S. Kahn Singh, Mohtamidala, Patiala; S. S. Inder Singh, Home Secretary, Faridkot; Bhai Fateh Singh, Head Granthi, Durbar Sahib; Sirdar Jogindra Singh, Taluqdar, Aira Estate, U. P.; Sirdar Sohan Singh, Rais, Rawalpindi; Honorary Captain Sirdar Janmeja Singh, Bahadur; Subadar Major Sirdar Gurdit Singh, Honorary Magistrate; S. S. Harnam Singh, Man, of Sialkot; Sirdar Chanchal Singh, of Bhawal, Shahpur; Sirdar Ram Singh, Kabuli, Contractor, Delhi; S. Sewaram, Singh, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Lahore; Bhai Takht Singh, Manager, Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya, Ferozepore; S. Balwant Singh, Assistant Engineer, P. W. D.; S. Balwant Singh; Bhai Gurbachan Singh, Granthi, Sri Durbar Sahib, Amritsar; S. B. Jowahar Singh, of Mustafabad, Ambala. The address was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Sikh Community we beg leave to approach Your Excellency and offer Your Lordship and Lady Chelmsford a cordial welcome to this our land of The Five Rivers.

The Punjab has been rightly called the Sword-hand of India and the achievements of this Province both in the past and in the present gigantic war are matters of which the Punjabis as a whole are justly proud, and the Sikh Community may rightly claim that their share in the sacrifices made, and recruits supplied during the present war, is in perfect keeping with the past military achievements and traditions of their race. Your Excellency would be pleased to note that nearly one-third of the total number of recruits supplied by this Province, since the outbreak of the war, were Sikhs, and it is most

Address from the Sikh Community.

gratifying to the community to learn that nearly one-third of the Honours of War won by the *entire Indian Army* on the various fields of battle were won by the Sikh forces. In reply to the address which was presented on behalf of the Sikh Community to Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress of India on the occasion of their Coronation Durbar a little over five years ago, His Majesty was graciously pleased to command as follows :—

‘ Their Imperial Majesties feel no doubt that the traditions of fidelity and fortitude in the service of the British Crown, of which the Saragarhi Memorial affords such eloquent testimony, will be worthily maintained in the future as in the past.’

To-day the Sikh Community may justly be proud that the noble sons of the community have fully justified the expectations of Their Imperial Majesties and that the achievements of the Sikh forces, on the various fronts, including those of the 14th, 15th and 47th Sikhs, to mention only a few out of numerous episodes, have shed lustre on the already glorious record of His Majesty's Indian Army. This pride is immeasurably enhanced by the fact that though our community is numerically only 12 per cent. of the population of the Province, yet it has pleased the Almighty to enable it to perform distinguished services to the Throne of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor. Though numerically a minority, yet in services and loyalty we are second to none and beg to assure Your Excellency, and through you Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress of India, that so long as the Sikh life and Sikh tradition last, the record of achievements made hitherto shall continue unabated, and that Sikh sacrifices shall continue to multiply innumerable in defence of the British Empire. The Sikh Community is determined that no sacrifice will be considered too great till the ruthless Teutonic enemies of the world and its civilisation are laid low and the world redeemed from aggressive and barbarous Prussian militarism. The community view with utter abhorrence the barbarous methods of German warfare and believe that the latest piratical declarations of the enemy are indicative of the last effort of the caged eagle before his final fall. We pray to Akal Purkh that the arms of His Imperial Majesty and his noble Allies may obtain a sure and speedy victory and the reign of peace and civilisation may once more be restored in the world.

Address from the Sikh Community.

Your Excellency will be interested to know that in 1902 the Chief Khalsa Diwan, a central representative body of the Sikhs, was started and its labours to advance the community in matters religious, social and educational had so far progressed by 1908 that in the first Educational Conference held at Gujranwala a separate Educational Committee of the Diwan was constituted to cope with its educational work. His Honour Sir Louis Dane, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in reply to an address which was presented to His Honour by the Chief Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar on 28th April 1908, was pleased to remark 'The activity of the Sikh community in matters religious, social and educational is one of the most marked and most satisfactory features of the present provincial history.' 'I believe that you, gentlemen of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, have inspired much of this activity which is so prominent.'

The Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan has done considerable work since then. Apart from a first grade central institution, the Khalsa College at Amritsar, which is supported mainly by our Sikh Princes and the benign Government, the Educational Committee of the Diwan helps with grants-in-aid no less than 13 high, 22 secondary, 67 primary, 5 night schools, and 4 boarding houses for boys and 6 Middle and 53 Primary Schools for girls in the Province, while at Ferozepore we have got a mahan vidyala for the higher education of our girls. The unique feature of the Ferozepore Vidyala is that the education, housing and a greater portion of the feeding of 250 girls, of whom 200 are boarders, are free and the boarding house is managed by the girls themselves without any paid agency, male or female. The gross amount of annual expenditure on education which the Educational Committee and the various schools incur is about Rs. 3,79,000. A new second grade college is to be started at Gujranwala and sanction for its opening has been accorded by the Punjab University with effect from May next. Apart from these institutions the Chief Khalsa Diwan is also maintaining directly two vidyals at Taran Taran (in the Amritsar district) and Garjakh (in the Gujranwala district) for the training of the Sikh Missionaries and Granthis, while the Central Khalsa Orphanage at Amritsar and those at Shikarpur in Sind and Garjakh (Gujranwala) provide for the unfortunate parentless children

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of the community. The community also maintains a small widows' home at Amritsar and a boarding house for girls at Kairon, district Amritsar, and a boarding house at Lahore.

This then, Your Excellency, is, in brief, the record of our work in this Province. However gratified we may be of this achievement, we must confess that we started very late and we have yet to make considerable improvements before we can compete with our sister communities in this Province. We are backward in higher education and partly on account of that and partly on account of the present system of recruitment our representation in the civil administration of the country, and all its branches, has been very poor. In His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer we have a very sympathetic Governor in whose keeping our interests are safe and in whose judgment we have faith and confidence. His Honour's attention has been drawn to this matter and we have every reason to hope that His Honour would be pleased to issue instructions to the Heads of the Departments to remove our present disparity and we should ere long hold the same position in all branches of the civil administration as we do in the military, where sacrifice of blood and conferment of honours go hand in hand.

Your Excellency, we have our aspirations, our problems and our difficulties. Devoted particularly as we are to arms and agriculture, we make no doubt that military and agricultural questions will receive Your Excellency's generous consideration. Government has been pleased to provide an Agricultural College at Lyallpur. It is a matter of congratulation that it is attracting larger numbers of students. The prospects becoming more attractive, its utility will increase considerably. It is, however, in the civil administration and in the Local and Imperial Council that our representation falls short of the importance and services of our community. We have no direct representation anywhere, and in the mixed electorates in this Province we have little chance of success either in the District Boards or Municipal Committees. Nor is anywhere our share in the representations fixed in proportion to our position, status and services, and we pray that under Your Excellency's *régime* we may be able to realise our national ideals and our aspirations worthy of our importance.

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We do not wish to encumber this address with the details of the changes that we would like to suggest in the administration of this country. The Chief Khalsa Diwan, through the Punjab Government, has already submitted to Your Excellency's Government our views and requirements in this respect, and we trust that they will receive a sympathetic consideration at your hands when the time comes for the consideration of this question. At present all our endeavours should rightly be directed towards the successful termination of the war. In this respect we have not lagged behind in our duty in the past and we can assure Your Excellency of our earnest desire to do our utmost to place at the services of the Empire our man-power to win the war. Your Excellency in your memorable speech at Delhi expressed a wish to raise a limited volunteer force. We beg leave to suggest that a village militia officered by our retired military men will not only provide a strong force for home defence, but prepare recruits for the regular army. The Inspecting Officers could both act as Recruiting and Commanding Officers. We further beg leave to submit respectfully that we believe Your Excellency's Government is considering the question of our admission to commissions in the Army and that an early pronouncement would send a thrill of joy all over the country. We can assure Your Excellency that India is prepared to give its all, but the call should come in a truly Imperial spirit, full of confidence and trust and recognition of India's position in the Empire, not in the measure of our merits, which must be small, but in the measure of the limitless bounty of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

In conclusion we wish Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford the best of health during your stay in this country and Your Lordship a great success in the government of this ancient land. We sincerely hope and pray that Akal Purkh may bless your *régime* with a happy realisation of peace and progress, that harvests may be plentiful and the finances of the Government full to overflowing, enabling Your Excellency to encourage further development of the resources of the country and lighten the burden on land.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

I thank you for the welcome contained in your address. It is a great pleasure to me to meet the representatives of the

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Sikh Community in the capital of the Province which is, in a peculiar sense, associated with their history, as being the cradle and the home of their religion and the scene of their secular triumphs.

Your claim that the achievements of the Sikhs in the great war have been in keeping with the military achievements and traditions of your race in the past, has my cordial and complete concurrence. The expectation expressed by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the Coronation Darbar, as to the traditional fidelity and fortitude of the Sikhs, has been more than justified, and it must be a source of great gratification to you all, to be able to point to so fine a record in proof of the vitality of the martial spirit of the Khalsa. The 14th Sikhs earned undying fame by their soldierly behaviour on the shell-swept beaches of Gallipoli. The 15th Sikhs, besides serving with distinction in France, rendered conspicuous service in the arduous fighting of last year in the Libyan desert, while the 36th, 45th and 47th Sikhs have added to their already high reputations by their notable achievements in Mesopotamia.

I find that Sikhs have earned over 100 Indian Orders of Merit and over 200 Indian Distinguished Service Medals since the war began and on two occasions recently it has been my pleasant task to present them with these honourable tokens of the King-Emperor's favour and appreciation. We have not yet received particulars of the many acts of personal gallantry recorded in the course of the recent victories on the Tigris but I feel sure that, when they become known, they will add lustre to the distinctions already earned by Sikhs.

The Indian Defence Force, to which you refer, has come into existence to meet special needs created by the war. As

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was explained in the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, at Delhi, the object of Government in creating this force is to provide, for the British and Indian portions of the Army in India, a second line capable of being utilised for the defence of India's frontiers and for the relief of regular troops in the more sedentary duties allotted to them, so as to spare as large a number as possible for service in the field. I am not prepared to express any opinion as to the practicability of your suggestion to form a village militia officered by retired officers. This, like many other proposals of the same kind, will demand careful examination after the war, when the future military policy of the Empire will come under general review. I am equally unable to make any pronouncement in regard to the grant of commissions. All I can say at present is that the question of opening out a wider career in the army to Indians is now under the consideration of Government, and you may be quite certain that whatever may be done in this direction will be of special benefit to the Punjab owing to its manhood being so largely represented in the army.

For the moment however, all our endeavours should, as you yourselves remark, be directed towards the successful termination of the war. Questions of policy cannot be dealt with hastily, and matters of this kind must yield to the more urgent questions which now pre-occupy the minds of those responsible for the conduct of affairs. I must ask you, therefore, to "possess your souls in patience," and to rest satisfied with the assurance that there can be no better claim to the sympathy and generosity of Government than that which is based on loyal and gallant service in the field.

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I am glad you have mentioned the subject of education, as this gives me an opportunity of acknowledging the progress which your community has made in recent years in educational matters. You represent about a tenth of the population of the Province and yet the proportion of Sikh pupils in our public institutions is now nearly one-seventh of the whole. You owe much, as you yourselves have stated, to the energetic work undertaken by the Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan. I am pleased to see that the Committee has paid special attention to the teaching of girls and I wish them also success in this important branch of education. They are no doubt confronted by the difficulty of securing female teachers and I feel sure they are doing their best to utilize so far as this may be possible the services of the widows of the community in this useful class of work.

I have not yet seen the Khalsa College, but I look forward with much interest to my visit to that institution. I understand that the College on its present footing is doing valuable services to your community. It has the advantage of a system largely residential, and I am glad to hear that a large number of the professors, both Europeans and Indians, live at the College itself. Manly games, in which the Sikhs naturally excel, are I am told suitably encouraged and I gather that a healthy tone prevails among the students in due accordance with the noble traditions of your community. With these and other features of the institution I hope to make closer acquaintance when I pay my proposed visit to the College. If the Sikhs show the same stubborn determination in their educational efforts as they have shown in many a hard-fought battle, their success in the peaceful professions is assured. Government, on their side, are most

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anxious to see all legitimate interests adequately represented in the public services. It rests with you to maintain your efforts to ensure that your young men attain the requisite educational standard. The desire to excel in all fields alike is only natural in these times, but it is the duty of Government to make the best use of the special abilities of each class of its subjects, and it is the application of this principle which has given the Sikhs such great opportunities for winning military distinction. Even so, I understand that the proportion of appointments in the Provincial, Civil and Police services which has recently fallen to your community is higher than the ratio borne by Sikhs to the total population. The services of Sikh officers in the Police have indeed been of special value in the critical times that the Province has gone through, and the mention of those services gives me an opportunity of expressing my admiration for the loyal assistance rendered by the Sikh Community as a whole in repressing the disorders created by a small but dangerous band of denationalised Sikhs who had joined hands with the King's enemies outside India and had conspired to carry the torch of rebellion through the homesteads of this peaceful land.

You refer to the claims of your community to adequate representation on the Legislative Councils. I can assure you that I regard it as of the highest importance that all interests should be duly represented. Our present practice secures to your community the benefit of that principle, and I do not think you need have any anxiety that your claims will be overlooked in any developments the future may have in store. It should be a matter of special pride to the Sikh community that at the present moment, in the person of my

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friend Raja Daljit Singh, they have a representative on the Council of the Secretary of State.

You have referred to the memorandum on administrative reforms submitted to the Government of India by the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The views therein expressed will receive attentive consideration. You are, however, aware from my official statements that the whole question occupied the special attention of the Government of India throughout the greater part of last year, and that as a result certain recommendations have been made to the Secretary of State. At the present time I cannot say more. I sympathise wholeheartedly with Indian aspirations and I hope it will be my lot, during my period of office, to assist them to find greater scope. But let me repeat here a warning which it is my duty constantly to reiterate in these times of exuberant political activities, when people's minds are disturbed and opinions are unsettled by the conflict and crash of Empires,—let me repeat that the ideal which is best suited for India is not so much rapid progress as steady progress. Do not expect violent changes. If progress is to be sure it must be consolidated step by step.

The task we have in hand at present is the conduct of this great war to a successful conclusion. You have fully recognised this fact in your address. I endorse most heartily your claim that the Sikh Community have not lagged behind in their duty in the past. They have proved staunch and true in the supreme test of battle. I look to them with the greatest confidence to maintain the splendid record of service which has won for our gallant Sikh soldiers so glorious a page in our Empire's history.

ADDRESS FROM PUNJAB CHIEFS' ASSOCIATION AT LAHORE.

14th April
1917

[Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford, accompanied by the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady O'Dwyer, and staff, attended a garden party given by the members of the Punjab Chiefs' Association in the Aitchison College grounds on Saturday afternoon. The beautiful grounds of the College were looking their best and the scene presented was a picturesque and animated one, there being a very large attendance of members of the Chiefs' Association and European and Indian guests. The Police Band played the National Anthem as the Viceroy arrived, and Their Excellencies were received by the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala, the Nawab of Bahawalpur; the Maharajas of Jind and Kapurthala; the Rajas of Mandi and Bilaspur; the Nawab of Malerkotla, the Rajas of Faridkot, Chamba, Suket and Kalsia; Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the Chiefs' Association, and other members of the Association. The large gathering included:—The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Behram Khan; Captain Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan; Captain Nawab Mubariz Khan; Nawab Khuda Bakhsh Khan; Nawab Talib Mehdi Khan; Raja Fateh Singh of Shekhupura; Raja Daljit Singh; Sardar Jogindar Singh; S. B. Sardar Jawahar Singh; Dewan Narindra Nath; Sardar Jiwan Singh Shahid; Sardar Fateh Singh, Malvaya; Raja Jai Chand; Sardar Aroor Singh, C.I.E.; Dewan Daya Kishen Kaul; S. B. Sardar Bhagwant Singh, Bhareli; S. B. Sardar Harnam Singh, Kharar; Sardar Gurdit Singh Shamgarh; Hon'ble Raja Ikram Ullah Khan, Shahzada Mohammad Hamdam; Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim Ali Khan; R. B. Dr. Balkishen Kaul; Sardar Lachhman Singh, Buria; Hon'ble S. B. Sardar Sundar Singh, Majithia; Raja Raghunath Singh, Jaswan; Nawab Fateh Ali Khan; Dewan Hari Kishen Kaul, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Malik Muhammad Amin Khan; K. B. Sheikh Nasiru-ud-din; K. B. Shaikh Riaz Hosain, Qureshi; Raja Muhammad Akbar Khan; Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan; Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagrian, and in addition Major-General and Mrs. Barratt; the Hon'ble Chief Judge and Puisne Judges of the Chief Court; the Hon'ble Mr. Maynard; the Hon'ble Mr. Atkins; Mr. Casson; Mr. Halifax; the Hon'ble Mr. Thompson; the Hon'ble Mr. Lumsden; the Hon'ble Mr. Craik; Mr. L. French; Sir P. C. Chatterji; the Hon'ble Mr. Aikman; the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi; the Hon'ble Mr. Townsend; the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh; Lieutenant-Colonels Denny, Stack, Sutherland, Farmer and Stephenson; Messrs. Barron,

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Tollinton, Kitchin, Richey; the Hon'ble Mr. Parker; Hon'ble R. B. Ram Saran Das; Mr. F. A. Leslie-Jones and many other European and Indian guests and a large number of ladies.

An elaborately decorated *shamiana* had been erected opposite the pavilion and Their Excellencies, with the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady O'Dwyer, took their seats under this *shamiana* to hear the address of welcome from the Chiefs' Association, which was read by Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, C.S.I., and which was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the members of the Punjab Chiefs' Association assembled here this evening from all parts of the Punjab, offer our cordial welcome to Your Excellency on your visit to the Capital of this Province. It is particularly gratifying to us to realise that, in spite of the heavy responsibilities of your exalted office in these critical times, Your Excellency has been able to honour the Province with a visit. Allow us to assure Your Excellency that though it may have involved some personal inconvenience and dislocation of work, your visit at the present juncture has inspired us with the liveliest feelings of pleasure and pride. It is not an empty sentiment when we say that the presence of the noble representative of our beloved King-Emperor among us evokes those sentiments of fervid devotion which are inseparable from the consciousness of the blessings of beneficent rule.

The Punjab Chiefs' Association came into existence in 1909, when the atmosphere in India was charged with ideas of political and constitutional reform. The Governor-General in Council in consultation with the Secretary of State for India had formed a tentative scheme of political concessions to meet the insistent claims of progressive India. This moment was considered most propitious for the inauguration of an association consisting of the scions of the aristocratic families of the Punjab, whose position and influence were seriously threatened for want of a proper organisation which could give voice to their hitherto unexpressed aspirations.

The late Lord Minto in reply to a farewell address from the Association expressed the hope that the enlarged Councils would give further opportunities for the expression of opinion on public affairs

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by those who have the greatest stake in their country, and who can do so much to contribute towards its good government. In the same speech, referring to a previous address, His Excellency observed :— “On that occasion you told me of the necessity of making audible the views of a class which has felt its responsibilities towards Government and the masses. You assured me that it was ‘vitally interested in the maintenance of peace and order’ and that it ‘stands’ ready to help the Government, ‘that it was also actuated by an ardent desire to put its house in order and effect such changes in it as are rendered indispensable by its environment.’ ” “You, gentlemen,” said His Excellency, “are the representatives of the manly and loyal races of the Punjab ; upon your strength the Government of India feels that it can rely. It is to your good sense and knowledge of the every-day requirements of your countrymen that they must largely look for assistance.”

These, indeed, were high expectations which stimulated our energies and opened before our vision the vista of a life full of lofty ideals, and we have striven to justify the hopes entertained of us. We are glad to be able to say that the Government have on all suitable occasions taken advantage of the influence and respect which the members of the Association enjoy in the country by consulting it on all matters that closely concern the welfare of the people of this Province. On the outbreak of this terrible war practically all our members offered their services to Government and evinced the keenest desire to be sent to the front, or if that was not possible to serve in any other capacity the Government deemed desirable. We feel a pardonable pride in the consciousness that there is not a single member of this Association who has not rendered some service in connection with the war. It would be self-laudation to give a full account of what has been done, and we would, therefore, content ourselves with the reflection that our services are not unknown to the Punjab Government, that our lives and property are entirely at the disposal of Government, and that it will afford unalloyed satisfaction to us if opportunities are made available to show our devotion to the King-Emperor. This appalling world disaster has fully demonstrated the wonderful unity of the Empire whose honour is being vindicated by the sacrifices which are willingly, nay, even cheerfully, made by its constituent parts. It

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may be that our foes who are the enemies of civilisation and freedom may yet show unexpected powers of resistance, but our will to conquer is so strong and overwhelming that no one endowed with any capacity for observation can for a moment doubt that sooner or later the enemy will have to accept defeat. The world stands aghast at the hideous catastrophe of this tragic war, but the agony of the present generation will, we venture to hope, release posterity from a fearful system of militarism which has terrorised the world for half a century. Imbued with the firm conviction that our cause is sacred and righteous, that truth is divine and eternal, and that the progress of humanity towards ultimate and universal peace by pre-ordained process of evolution is part of the scheme of a beneficent Providence, we have no doubt of the final issue. It is this ineffable moral assurance which elevates the spirit of our soldier and makes him invincible.

It would not, perhaps, be quite inappropriate to say that, as proposals from all quarters in India have been submitted to Your Excellency, for post-war reforms, we, who entertain the firmest faith in the progressive spirit of the British administration, feel that the voice of a class which has collectively such an immense stake in the country should not remain inaudible and we have submitted our proposals in a separate memorandum to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. We have every hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to extend your favourable consideration to them.

The Defence of India Force Act, which has recently been passed by the Imperial Legislative Council, has our entire and hearty support. It is calculated to afford timely opportunity to those classes of the population and to those Provinces which have not taken an adequate share in supplying man-power to the Indian Army. We venture to hope that the desire to take advantage of such a measure will be general, and in view of the services which we have rendered we hope Government will give us an opportunity of qualifying ourselves for commissions in the New Army.

The report of the Public Services Commission has evoked considerable criticism both from the Press and from public men in India, and although we prefer to deal with it in a separate memorandum to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, we would fain say this much

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at least, that circumstances and conditions vary in different Provinces and that the case of each requires to be treated on its own merits. It is neither just nor expedient to apply one remedy to the ills of the different parts of India. We venture to urge that due regard be paid to the claims of the aristocracy of this Province, who have sufficiently demonstrated that in peace or in war their attitude towards their King-Emperor has been determined by their traditional loyalty and devotion. Several of our members have already showed their fitness for administrative work, while it is a matter of deep satisfaction to us that Raja Daljit Singh, C.S.I., who as Honorary Secretary to this Association was eminently successful in promoting its interests, should have so greatly distinguished himself as a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India by his intimate knowledge of Indian problems and his political sagacity. The Province in general and the members of the Punjab Chiefs' Association in particular feel legitimate pride in his career.

We beg to express our sincere gratitude to His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, our popular Lieutenant-Governor, for the generous encouragement and help we have received at his hands. His unfailing courtesy and sympathy have endeared him to the heart of every Punjabi. We can say without hesitation that India needs more administrators like him. On the one hand his firmness in dealing with lawlessness and on the other his justice, liberality and generosity form a unique combination of those sterling qualities which have ever secured for British Rule its strength and popularity. We owe it to his untiring energies and vigilance that perfect tranquillity and contentment prevail from one end of the Province to the other.

We consider ourselves very fortunate that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford has been able to grace our Garden Party with her welcome presence and for this we beg to tender our cordial thanks to Her Excellency.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

I thank you for the cordial welcome you have extended to me. You refer in your address to some possible inconvenience and dislocation of work arising out of my visit.

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You are right. In a sense it is always inconvenient for a Viceroy to be away from the seat of Government, but I lay great store on the Viceroy getting into personal touch with the varied problems of the Provinces, and I regard the possible inconveniences as outweighed by the positive advantages of seeing things with my own eyes. And I am specially glad to be able now to pay a visit to Lahore. I am thus enabled to make the personal acquaintance of the leading men and of the leading city of a Province, which, though it has witnessed so many vicissitudes in the course of its varied history, has steadily progressed from strength to strength and is as distinguished to day by its martial ardour, its practical virtues and its progressive spirit as it was in days gone by by its ancient chivalry. You who have sought this occasion of welcoming me are the representatives of those ancient families which have come through the storm and stress of Punjab history and are now firmly established, I trust, under British Rule.

I can assure you that the Government is not unmindful of the assistance which the administration has so constantly received from the loyal support of the aristocracy and landed gentry of the Province, and it has always sought, as occasion offered, to uphold and strengthen the position of these classes. Thus when the scheme for the colonisation of the lands commanded by the Lower Bari Doab Canal was under consideration, a considerable area was reserved for the landed gentry, and I understand that about 60,000 acres have been distributed to grantees of this class. I hope that these grants will resuscitate the fortunes of many an ancient family and enable its members to hold up their heaps again and to take the place in the body politic that their fathers held before them.

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This measure was devised before the war as part of the accepted policy of the Punjab Government, but the stir and stress of the last three years have brought into yet stronger relief the part which the old leaders of the people can still play in the maintenance of order and good government. These services have been frequently acknowledged by your Lieutenant-Governor and I am glad to say that we have been able to put into operation a scheme which he initiated, and which I know he has at heart, for reviving the practice of the ancient rulers of India of granting assignments of land revenue in recognition of good service to the State. The Local Government has now been authorised to grant *jagirs* as a reward for meritorious service subject to a limit of Rs. 1,000 per annum in each case and up to an aggregate of Rs. 10,000 in the first year and Rs. 5,000 in subsequent years. Non-officials and ex-officials only will be eligible for these grants, which will be held subject to continued good conduct, steadfast loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and active good service to the public or to Government. The grants may be given not merely for direct assistance rendered to the administration, but also for the furtherance of local movements of reform and of various objects of public utility. The sphere of public activity that is open to men of position and influence has been greatly widened in recent years, and these *jagirs* are designed to stimulate the spirit of civic duty without which there can be no real political progress. These rewards will not be confined to the aristocracy and gentry : they will be open to all ; but I hope that a large proportion of them will be earned by those who used to lead the people in the old days of internal strife and that they will thus show that they are now taking the lead in the paths of public self-sacrifice and civic progress.

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I am glad to learn that the object and scope of the Indian Defence Force Act meet with the approval of your Association. It is essentially a war measure, designed to increase the man-power of the Empire. The application of the Act is, perhaps, of less direct interest to the Punjab than it is to other parts of India, as your Province already furnishes 63 per cent. of the Indian soldiers now serving in the regular army, besides some thousands of transport drivers and military labourers. I hope, nevertheless, that the opportunity of rendering personal service now offered will be taken advantage of by many young men of the better educated class, who, though unable to join the regular army, are willing to enlist in Indian units of the Defence Force for general service in India during the war. I am informed that there exists among these young men a widespread desire to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism in the manner indicated, and I trust that the assurances I have received on the subject will result in numerous applications for enrolment. If the number coming forward for service proves large enough to justify the formation of a unit in the Punjab, you may rest assured that every opportunity will be given to enable those enrolled to qualify themselves for advancement, according to their military aptitudes. I need hardly remind you, however, that they must be trained as soldiers before they can aspire to be officers, and that in the army, as in other walks of life, people must learn to walk before they can expect to run.

As individuals you represent links with the past, but your Association, as a body with a definite political organisation, is new. Your reference to a memorandum on Reform which your Association has produced, but which I have not

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yet seen, gives me an opportunity of touching on a subject which is of the highest moment. It is impossible for me, as I have said on former occasions, to discuss questions which are under the consideration of the Secretary of State and with regard to which we can hardly expect an answer from those whose time is fully occupied in the immediate task of bringing this war to a victorious conclusion. But I am always glad to receive the views of those who have studied these questions, especially when, as in your case, the views are those of men who have a considerable stake in the country and represent such large and important interests. Your Association should take a prominent part in the political life of the country. You represent in the main the mofussil and inasmuch as the inhabitants of the country districts in the Punjab amount to approximately 90 per cent. of the total population of the Punjab, it is only right and proper that the leaders of that 90 per cent. should express their views upon important questions. Your position has its privileges and also its responsibilities. To the people your duty consists in doing what you can to improve their condition and assist their progress by encouraging education, suppressing crime and fostering the co-operative and other progressive movements. But it is also most emphatically your duty to bring their needs to the notice of Government. It is all important then that you as members of this Association should stand forward and express clearly your views. Your silence may be misunderstood, and it is your duty to yourselves, to Government and to those whom you represent to do all in your power to leave no shadow of doubt as to the policy for which you really stand.

Durbar at Lahore.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing my admiration for the splendid assistance you have given in helping on the work of recruiting for the army, in co-operating with the district authorities in maintaining order, and in subscribing generously to the funds opened for the benefit of our soldiers and their families. In addressing yourselves to the various needs created by the war you have found a definite sphere of work which must have reacted favourably upon your own strength and unity as a corporate body.

In again thanking you for your welcome I wish your Association all success and a career of public usefulness in a future which must hold for you great duties and great responsibilities.

DURBAR AT LAHORE.

[The Viceregal Durbar which was to have been held in the Shish Mahal at the Fort on Saturday morning the 14th and had to be postponed owing to the damage done by the storm on Friday night, took place in the University Hall, Lahore, on Monday morning in brilliant weather and brought His Excellency's visit to Lahore to a fitting termination.

16th April
1917.

The hall was very simply decorated, blue and white curtains overhanging the doors and windows and palms filling the intervening spaces. The floor was beautifully carpetted, and the arrangement of the dais was similar to that on the occasion of the Special University Convocation, the canopy bearing the inscription in gold letters "Ex Oriente Lux." The arrangements for the accommodation of those invited to the function were perfectly carried out, the blocks being filled in the order in which they were timed to be occupied. The Ruling Princes and their staffs were seated to the right and left of the dais, the durbaris and high officials on both sides of the main entrance

Durbar at Lahore.

and others on the right and left wings of the hall. The balconies accommodated ladies exclusively, among these being Lady and Miss O'Dwyer. About 3,000 persons in all were present at the Durbar.

His Excellency was preceded by Lady Chelmsford, who arrived at 10-35 and occupied a seat on the dais to the right of that reserved for the Viceroy. His Excellency, who had left Government House at 10-15 with an escort of Indian cavalry, arrived at the Durbar Hall at 10-40 under a Viceregal salute and entered the Hall accompanied by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and their respective staffs. A British infantry regiment provided a guard of honour at the entrance to the Hall.

The Viceroy on arrival took his seat on the dais, the Lieutenant-Governor occupying the seat on His Excellency's left. The Durbar having been declared open, the first ceremony was the presentation of the invited Ruling Chiefs of the Punjab, with their ministers and staffs, to His Excellency. The following were presented in order of precedence—H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala; H. H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur; H. H. the Maharaja of Jind; H. H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala; H. H. the Raja of Mandi; H. H. the Raja of Bilaspur, with his brother and son; H. H. the Nawab of Malerkotla, with his brother; H. H. the Raja of Faridkot; H. H. the Raja of Chamba, with his son and nephew; H. H. the Raja of Suket, with his brother; and the Raja of Kalsia.

Other Chiefs and Durbaris were afterwards presented. His Excellency then invested a number of recipients of honours with the insignia of their decorations.

Among those presented were the following:—Baba Gurbakhsh Singh, Bedi, C.I.E. (Knighthood); Mr. A. J. W. Kitchin, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner (C.I.E.); Lieutenant-Colonel J. Farmer, C.V.D. (C.I.E.); Mr. Edmund Burke, C.V.D. (I.S.O.); Munshi Ajit Singh, Pleader, (Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal); Captain James Francis Fleming, I.S.M.D., and Munshi Lajja Ram, Naib Tahsildar (Kaisar-i-Hind Silver Medal); Mr. A. W. Mercer, Superintendent of Police, Khan Liakat Hayat Khan, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Deputy Superintendent of Police (Police Medals), Sardar Daljit Singh, C.S.I. (Raja); and the recently created jagirdars and recipients of Indian titles.

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His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Your Highnesses, Chiefs, Sardars and Gentlemen of the Punjab,—I am proud to meet you to-day in the capital of the Punjab. I have sought an early opportunity of doing so as I wished, in view of the Punjab's great record, to make a special point of visiting you while the war is still in progress. Misunderstandings from time to time there may have been : sinister movements, too, in some quarters which we need now only recall in order that we may pay due recognition to the loyal co-operation which they evoked, and to the strong hand which suppressed them. But in the main the idea of the Punjab which we Englishmen—and Englishmen all the world over—have in their hearts to-day is that of a Province second to none in devotion to our King-Emperor, a Province true to the core and inspired by high traditions, sending out her gallant sons to fight shoulder to shoulder with our own sons, a Province of *men*, the sword-arm of the Indian Empire. Small wonder, then, that I am proud to-day to find myself speaking to such an assembly gathered together from the Land of the Five Rivers.

I should like, first of all, to dwell with some particularity on the immediate military services rendered by you since the Empire entered into this great struggle.

As was to be expected, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs have given a fine lead. The Imperial Service Troops of the States of Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Malerkotla and Sirmur have been on active service in various theatres of the war almost continuously since hostilities began, and I have received good accounts of their prowess in France, Egypt, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia and East Africa. The Bahawalpur Imperial Service Camel Corps have also been maintained

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in a high state of efficiency and though they have not yet had the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field as a separate unit, portions of the Corps have seen service in Egypt, Mesopotamia and East Africa. All the Durbars have placed their services and resources unreservedly at our disposal, and lavish contributions have been made, in money and material. Even private houses in Simla belonging to Ruling Chiefs have been readily offered to meet the needs of the Army and, in fact, the States, both great and small, have vied with one another in helping the cause of Great Britain in this mighty struggle. I acknowledge these services most gratefully on behalf of His Majesty's Government, by whom they will assuredly not be forgotten.

And now what has the Punjab done? As in old days, it has shown itself to be the nursery of fighting men. It has been the principal source of recruitment of the Indian Army and has furnished 63 per cent. of the recruits enlisted in British India since the beginning of the war. Its sons have gained distinction in France, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, East Africa and Egypt,—indeed wherever they have fought, and all classes—whether Mussulmans, Sikhs or Hindus—have worthily maintained the reputation of their race as valiant fighters.

Many of you here are entitled to take a special pride in the valuable services rendered by the Lahore Division which arrived in the fighting line in France at a most critical period in the late autumn of 1914. It was one of the first overseas reinforcements to meet the enemy, and during the hardships of that terrible winter, by steadfastness and bravery, it placed beyond all criticism the decision to send Indian troops to Europe.

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The first Victoria Cross won by an Indian was gained by Naik Khudadad Khan, Mahomedan Rajput of the Jhelum District. Up to the present time Punjabis have earned between them 3 Victoria Crosses, 186 Orders of Merit and 370 Indian Distinguished Service Medals since the beginning of the war. Our recent victories in Mesopotamia will add yet more to the number of these honourable distinctions and show a record of which the Province may well be proud.

I have alluded to the splendid recruitment from your Province, but such results could never have been obtained if there had not been a very real desire on the part of the people and their leaders to assist the officers of Government in the important work of raising men for the forces of the King-Emperor. I have had myself the opportunity of meeting many of the men who had done signal service in this respect at Rohtak and more recently at Rawalpindi; and I should like to congratulate the Province on having such men as its leaders.

But their efforts have not been confined to securing a steady flow of recruits for Punjabi regiments; they have also enabled Government to raise, in a very short time, a very large number of mule drivers, sarwans, mechanics, labourers and other classes of followers, required for various auxiliary services in the field. The sudden demand for men of these classes which arose last summer was met by the Punjab with great energy and promptitude, and the vigorous action then taken by the provincial authorities helped us to overcome a serious though temporary difficulty. I take this opportunity to thank all those who have been concerned with recruiting for the notable results they have helped to achieve. I trust, however, that they will not relax their efforts, as demands for

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men still continue and the work on which they are engaged is of the highest importance to the Empire. Indeed, nothing short of our utmost endeavour will suffice. I have every hope, however, that the grant of free rations and the improvement of the pay and pensions of officers and non-commissioned officers sanctioned on the 1st January will go far to assist us in raising the numbers we require. The increase in the rate of *batta* which has just been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for Indian troops on active service will add Rs. 3-8-0 a month to the sepoy's emoluments when he is actually serving in the field. These concessions have now been extended to the transport service, and the men serving in mule corps have been given the status of combatants, made eligible for pensions, and granted various other privileges. The Indian mule driver will no longer be a follower, but will take his place among the soldiers of the King-Emperor. He will also have the satisfaction of knowing that these improvements in his prospects and status have been earned by his faithful and gallant service in the field.

Owing to the large number of Punjabis on active service, the war has taken a much higher toll of your population than it has of that of other provinces. No pecuniary aid can compensate for the loss of a father, husband or son; Government has, however, endeavoured to alleviate the lot of the widow and the fatherless and of those who have been disabled in the war by the liberal increase of previous scales of family and wound pensions, and these again have been liberally supplemented by the generosity of subscribers to the Imperial Relief Fund. War entails hardships on many, but we have done our best to reduce them.

As you are all aware, we have been able, through the persevering efforts of our officers, to overcome some of the

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physical difficulties which made campaigning in Mesopotamia so arduous in the early phases of the war. The Tigris from Basra to Baghdad now affords a striking example of vigour and orderly progress and of the extent and variety of the Empire's resources. Steamers from the Thames, the Niger and the Nile now ply on the Tigris and Euphrates, side by side with those from the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy. The shrill whistle of the locomotive now disturbs the solitude of the desert, and the striking spectacle of a goods train threading its way through the traditional Garden of Eden is a tribute, I think, to the enterprise, resourcefulness and organizing powers of our soldiers and engineers. The fact that the means of carrying these remarkable achievements into effect have been largely derived from India, which has contributed men and materials to the utmost of her resources, must give us all a feeling of honourable pride and satisfaction and nowhere, I am sure, will this be felt more widely than in the Punjab.

I have referred to the part which the Punjab is playing in the war. I now turn to the still greater part which it may play in the realm of peace. The prosperity of India is, and must be for many years to come, dependent mainly on her agriculture. The natural advantages of climate and soil, the abundance of labour, the industry and thrift of the peasantry, the provision, through Government agency, of a generous water-supply and the accumulated experience of generations engaged in practical husbandry have enabled her not only to feed her vast population but to produce a large surplus for export and thus to purchase a steadily increasing amount of foreign manufactures. But the growing pressure of population on the soil, together with a progressive rise in

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the standard of living, make it essential for her to increase her production per acre if her rate of progress is to be maintained. In Europe and Northern America science has made great strides in this direction and the small but promising beginnings made by research workers in this country show what immense possibilities lie before us. The Punjab has peculiar advantages for leading the way. The huge areas brought under irrigation by the canals provide an ideal field for improved methods of agriculture. Your cultivators are enterprising and intelligent but they are hampered by shortage of capital and the lack of scientific knowledge. Their traditions have inclined them to put quantity above quality and to set more store by immediate returns than future possibilities. Let me suggest that if the desired increase of production is to be secured, improvements are necessary in three directions: (1) in the methods of cultivation, (2) in the selection of better varieties of the staple crops, and (3) in the harvesting and marketing of pure grades. The Agricultural Department is doing its best to introduce all these improvements and is meeting with a most encouraging degree of co-operation. The superiority of its selected varieties of various crops, especially of wheat and American cotton, has already been proved. I hope that there will be a considerable expansion of research in this direction as soon as more workers are available. The importance of demonstrating the results so far obtained has recently been impressed on Local Governments, and the grant of Rs. 10,70,000 which has been made to the Punjab from the profit realised by the Government of India from the exports of wheat should enable material progress to be made in the important work of demonstration. Government are also considering the question whether anything can be done to improve the arrangements for the marketing of cotton, so as

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to secure to the cultivator a full price for superior varieties. These are all matters in which the large landholders of the province can render material assistance. You can stimulate improved methods of cultivation on and around your estates by example and precept ; you can help your tenants to obtain the best varieties of seed by establishing seed farms in co-operation with the Department and so teach them the value of maintaining pure strains ; and you can discourage the practice of adulteration, which has sullied the reputation of India's crops and prevents the cultivator from reaping the full value of his outturn. In all these respects your help will be invaluable ; in fact, rapid progress will be impossible without it. Only a comparatively small number of people are able to visit the Government farms, and those who do go are not always satisfied that they could produce the same results themselves. But when they see their neighbour adopting some reform, growing better crops, and getting more money for them, then they are readily converted and in their turn become apostles. It is by this means that I hope to see prosperity increase and spread in the fields of this fair province. First, the research of the scientists ; second, demonstration by Government officers, and last, the intelligent activity of the cultivator bringing the seed sown by science to fruition in the field. A municipality or a company can generate electricity at a power station and light the streets with it, but numberless wires are required to convey it to the houses of the people. It is the same with scientific agriculture. The discoveries of the laboratory are sterile until they are applied to practical cultivation. It is the privilege and the duty of the large landholder to pioneer the distributary wires that will bring the light of science to shine on the labours of the humble tiller of the soil.

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Your Province is still somewhat backward in education, but the progress made of recent years has been reassuring; and there are two Punjab characteristics which lead me to hope that education in this Province has a great future before it.

In the first place, you have a large number of educational institutions of a denominational character. This has, no doubt, its dangers here as it has in England. Religious animosities may be fostered, and competition may lead in places to an unnecessary number of inferior schools. But where these dangers can be avoided, there is much to be gained from the system which is so common in your Province. I am thinking more especially of the encouragement to education which it provides, leading to increased private liberality in the promotion of schools and colleges, and increased enthusiasm in their management. I am also thinking of the opportunities which it gives for dealing with that subject which we find so difficult to deal with in our Government institutions, namely, the encouragement of religious feeling among our students.

Then, you have in the Punjab a large class of people not yet adequately educated in the ordinary sense of the term, but full of enterprise and keenness especially in the direction of mechanical work. You have no very large centres of manufacture, but with your great Railway Works at Lahore and with an artizan class so fitted for practical industry I see no reason why, in the industrial revival which we hope is before us, the Punjab should not—in some directions at least—give the lead to the rest of India.

We must remember also that your Irrigation Colonies for the moment carry their population easily, but twenty

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years hence there may well be a congestion of population for which, unless we have taken steps in the meantime, it may be difficult to provide. I look forward, then, to the establishment of industries in close connection with your agricultural products which will meet the demands of your growing population.

Crime is a subject which may not at first sight strike one as an appropriate topic for discussion at such a Durbar, but in the case of the Punjab it is a topic which may be considered with a good deal of satisfaction.

Two years ago the Punjab went through a very troublous time. There were riots between Hindus and Mahomedans in the south-west, and there were murders and conspiracies organised by revolutionaries from America and the Far East which we were happily able to nip in the bud. But it is a matter for the profoundest satisfaction that the strong good sense of the Punjab came to her rescue, and it may safely be said that at the present moment the tranquillity of the Province is far greater than it has been since the war broke out—far greater than it has been at any recent period even before the war came. A few figures may be quoted to show that this improvement is progressive. For the year 1916 there were only 101 dacoities as compared with 263 in the previous year, and up to the middle of March in the current year there had been only 20 as compared with 54 in the corresponding period in 1916 and 179 in the corresponding period of 1915. It may be added that not a few of those that have recently occurred have been the work of wandering gangs of trans-frontier tribesmen, but thanks to the vigorous measures adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor, these unwelcome and self-invited visitors have found the Punjab too

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hot a climate for their comfort, and it is a relief to know that a great number of them have now betaken themselves back to their own place.

The satisfactory results above described have accrued at a time when the excitement of war, and uneasiness owing to the proximity of turbulent elements on the frontier, might easily have produced an unsettling effect. It would doubtless have been incongruous that at a time when so many of her sons were shedding their blood in distant countries in the cause of right, the cause of wrong should have been at anything but a discount at their homes in the Punjab. It is a pleasure to reflect that no such inconsistency is apparent, and it may be attributed not only to the good sense and virility of her people, but also to the good understanding that exists between them and the Government, and between them and those servants of Government, who are principally responsible for the repression of crime—I mean the police. I have had an opportunity of seeing this fine force in the course of my visits to Simla during the summer months and I should like to say how much I have been impressed by their physique and discipline and I am not surprised to hear of the good work they have done. But surely the greatest tribute which has been paid to them is the assistance and co-operation which they have received from the general public, for that would not have been forthcoming if they had not won the public confidence.

The Government of India have not been unmindful of their interests, and, in view of the great rise of prices that has occurred,—realising that an efficient force implies a contented force, and that contentment is impossible without a living wage—have secured the assent of the Secretary of

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State to an all-round increase of pay, and it is a matter of the liveliest satisfaction to learn from Sir Michael O'Dwyer that this improvement has met with general approval from the non-official members of his Legislative Council, some of whom went out of their way to testify to the increased efficiency of the police. This increase of pay costs a large sum of money, but an improvement of the nature indicated is well worth the expenditure.

It is a great pleasure, then, for me to be able to congratulate you all on the condition of your Province, and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of the valuable services rendered, not only to the Punjab, but to India, by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. But I feel sure that His Honour would be the first to acknowledge that throughout he has been ably and loyally supported by his lieutenants in all branches of the services and I would not have them think that I am unmindful of their good work. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is coming to the end of his career in India and it can be truly said of him *nihil terigit quod non ornavit*, of which a free translation might be given—"he has held no office without conferring lustre upon it." During these last anxious years of war it has been the greatest comfort both to Lord Hardinge and myself to feel that we had so strong, so wise a colleague: and you in the Punjab will, I feel sure, be sorry to part with one who always tempered his strength with geniality. History, I think, will record him as one of India's great Lieutenant-Governors.

[At the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech, which was punctuated by applause, none of which was more enthusiastic than that with which His Excellency's tribute to the Lieutenant-Governor was received, a translation of the speech in Urdu was read by the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Visit to Khalsa College, Amritsar.

At 12-30 the Viceroy declared the Durbar closed and left under the usual salute, with Lady Chelmsford, followed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lady O'Dwyer and the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government. The Ruling Chiefs were the next to depart, in the order of precedence, after His Honour, and then the Darbaris, officials and others who had been present.

Their Excellencies returned to Government House, with the escort of Indian Cavalry and at 3-30 P.M. left Lahore by special train for Amritsar.]

VISIT TO KHALSA COLLEGE, AMRITSAR.

16th April 1917. [His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to the Khalsa College on Monday afternoon. The College premises wore a gala-like appearance, and the roads were decorated with bunting, flags, mottoes and palms. A long time before His Excellency's arrival, the entire body of students, several hundreds in number, gathered on the college roof to welcome His Excellency's special train.

His Excellency was accompanied in his visit by His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. H. A. Casson, Commissioner of Lahore, and was received at the College porch by His Highness the Raja of Faridkot, S. Gurbakhsh Singh, Honorary Secretary of the College Council, the Principal, Mr. G. A. Wathen, and professors, and members of the College Council, including the Hon'ble S. B. Sundar Singh Majithia, S. Dharam Singh of Usma, S. Kharak Singh, Dhillon, Bakhshi Jagat Singh, S. B., Honorary Captain S. B. Gurnam Singh, S. Harbux Singh, Barrister of Hoshiarpur, S. B. Janmeja Singh, S. Jiwan Singh of Patana, S. Amar Singh of Patiala, S. Sundar Singh Ramgarhia, S. Baghel Singh of Kallar, S. Raghbir Singh of Raja Sanhsi, S. B. Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagrian, Sirdars Bhagwan Singh and Narain Singh of Patiala, and S. Hukam Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

His Excellency visited the physics department and the chemistry laboratory, and then inspected the college hostel. From the hostel he passed by the parade ground, inspected a physical culture class and

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went to the tank, where a swimming class was being held. His Excellency was shown the new cubicles, the football and cricket grounds, and the levelling work now in progress, the farm, and the land about to be acquired for the model demonstration farm. From the tank he proceeded to the dharamsala, and thence to the Dunnicliff gallery where the students of the college classes were assembled and to whom His Excellency made the following remarks:—]

Your Honour, Raja Sahib, Principal and Gentlemen,—
I am glad to see your College. My only misfortune is that I have had a bare twenty minutes, in which to do so. Again I have been unable to see you at work, at play, and as a running and living College. I am impressed, however, with what I have seen.

This College offers you, what we want to offer, the opportunity of becoming the leaders of the future, as you are sons of those who have been the leaders in the past. On your shoulders rests the responsibility of the future. Are you prepared to go out without any high aim in life? I am sure you have high ideals for yourselves and for your country.

I am glad for instance to see that you are taking a lead in agricultural education. Believe me, there is no calling more noble than this and you can effect, especially in India, great things in this line for the improvement of your country.

Yours is a great agricultural country, but there are certain directions in which the Indian peasant wants leading. I look forward, and your Lieutenant-Governor looks forward, to a spread of demonstration farms all over the Province to show men the methods of scientific agriculture.

I want you to be apostles of scientific agriculture. At present people take to the clerical profession, Government

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service and the legal profession, in all of which there is acute competition. We wish to direct you into this line. I believe the position has only to be put before you, for you to realise that here is a fine opportunity. I have no time to talk to you about other things, but I should like, however, to impress on you three golden rules :—

1. Play the game,
2. Play for your side, and
3. Obey the decision of the Umpire.

I have seen the members of the Double Company, but they are only 26 in number; that is not enough. We want 250 (*applause*) and wish people like you to give the lead. Men of position and means join the ranks in England. Such a thing is an every-day occurrence, and I hope it will be soon an every-day occurrence in the Punjab. There are 250 of you here, and I trust, by tomorrow when I reach Dehra Dun a telegram from your Principal will inform me that the Double Company is all made up.

I am glad to announce a gift of Rs. 20,000 for a new Hostel from the Raja Sahib of Faridkote (*loud applause*). I congratulate you on his gift, but I congratulate the Raja more. He could not have spent the money in a better way. I hope his good example will be followed by other princes and people.

I wish you all good luck in your work and your future.

[His Excellency then went to the Rivaz Hall, and inspected the trophies won by the College. He then took his departure, driving away through lines of students who had assembled near the porch.]

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION IN SIMLA.

[The annual general meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association was held on the evening of the 27th June 1917. in the Council Chamber, Viceregal Lodge, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. There was a large and brilliant gathering. After confirming the proceedings for 1916 the Viceroy called upon His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to present the annual report of the Association.]

In doing so Sir Charles Menro said :

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to present the annual report of the St. John Ambulance Association for the past year and in so doing I wish to express my satisfaction that our civil activities have not been decreased in any way by the constitution of the Joint War Committee, and the increased interest now taken in Red Cross work. The general progress made in all departments is proof positive of the admirable administration of the Association by the central committee as well as by all provincial and local centres. As examples of this I may mention that there has been an increase of 39 in the number of provincial and other centres, that our membership has risen from 3,000 to 7,500, including 40 honorary councillors, and our courses of instruction show marked improvement both as regards numbers and results ; 20,378 persons have attended our various courses during the last year as against 14,429 in 1916, whilst 9,741 certificates of proficiency, medallions, etc., have been issued, against 7,383 in the previous year. We have now 800 members on our honorary teaching staff, amongst whom I am glad to notice the names of many military officers. Our heartiest thanks are due to all medical men and medical women in India whose whole-hearted co-operation in this respect enables me to-day to announce such satisfactory results. I also wish to convey the Council's appreciation of the good services rendered by Mr. W. G. A. Hanrahan, our general secretary, who has continued during the year under review to work night and day in the interests of the Association.

Having said so much as regards our civil activities you will excuse me, I trust, if as a soldier I turn now to the war side of our work.

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At the request of the military authorities the Indian Council has already recruited 400 nursing orderlies for active service in military hospitals in India or at the front. The badge of the St. John Ambulance Association is now a familiar sight in Indian war hospitals and on hospital-ships and ambulance trains, and the St. John Ambulance Brigade orderly is doing useful work both in India and in Mesopotamia. Apart from this mobilised *personnel* the Brigade is also putting its ambulance instruction to good use by unloading sick and wounded from hospital-ships and ambulance trains at Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and various up-country stations and in transporting them from ship to train to various war hospitals. As regards the St. John nurses, I wish particularly to draw attention to the good work done by the Calcutta Nursing Division under Mrs. Cattle which is reported on page 95 of the report of the Joint War Committee. I may mention also that we have several St. John nurses working the special Red Cross electro-therapeutic hospital at Dehra Dun and one St. John trained masseuse at "The Craggs." In addition to this we have recruited and placed at the disposal of the military authorities 191 St. John nurses and have 60 more waiting to be called up should their services be required. All these nurses receive payment at the rates laid down by the Government of India in the Army Department. It will be seen, therefore, that, so far as ordinary nurses are concerned, we are amply provided for. I feel however that the time has now come for expanding our present system and bringing it more into line with the V. A. D. arrangements in England, in order to enlist the services of ladies who will show their sympathy with the men and take an interest in increasing the cheerfulness and brightness of the wards. I recognise that here in India we labour under the disadvantage of not having a rich and leisured class to fall back upon and that officers' wives cannot afford the expenses of a double establishment such as would be necessary if they were liable to transfer from one place to another. I feel sure, however, that if we were to institute a system of lady visitors there would be no difficulty in obtaining a number of suitable candidates who would be able to qualify for work in the hospitals and who would be prepared to give their services for a certain number of hours a week in order to supplement and assist the regular staff as far as possible. Such ladies could

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not be whole-time workers, but with a little arrangement they would be able to devote a few hours two or three times a week to work of this kind in their own stations and so feel that they were helping by personal service. All work done by such lady visitors would be entirely voluntary. They would not be liable to transfer from one station to another and they should not be under 20 years of age. The details of this scheme will require to be worked out in consultation with the Director of Medical Services in India. Meanwhile, in order to arouse public interest in the matter, I propose to issue a circular letter to the Lieutenant-Governors and other heads of civil administrations and to the Army and Divisional Commanders, asking them to assist in the promotion of this scheme by holding meetings, by working out schemes of employment in consultation with the local medical authorities, giving facilities for holding training classes and lectures, and getting up entertainments for the amusement of the men and by raising funds for various local objects connected with the project. Another form of activity which might be associated with this would be the provision of some sort of agency at big junctions like Delhi to assist soldiers travelling through *en route* to other places. I am informed that men constantly arrive without money, or in need of advice or assistance and help of this kind would be most useful. Units also pass through occasionally and have a meal at the station. This meal consists of the necessaries of life as supplied by the Supply and Transport Department. If ladies could supplement this and see that meals were served in an appetising manner it would do much to remove the discomforts of Indian travel. Another form of activity which these visitors could take up would be the borrowing of cars from their friends so as to take out convalescents for motor drives. If there are any places of historical interest in the neighbourhood, a guide capable of giving a popular lecture about the place visited would add to the interest of such tours. It must be remembered that our new armies include men of every class and of every degree of education and help of this kind is of real value. In their case it will enable them to leave India with a more favourable opinion of the country and of their fellow men, if the latter have shown a little practical sympathy and interest in their lives and do not treat them merely as so many occupants of barracks.

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I confidently recommend this scheme to the attention of all members of the St. John Ambulance Association in India from which I trust to receive every assistance contributing to its success.

Colonel Hendley then announced that Ram Rakkamal Bandani of Ferozepore had presented two Challenge Cups for First Aid and Nursing.

Sir Pardey Lukis then presented his report of the working of the Joint War Committee since its inception and said :

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to present the interim report of the Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee from the 2nd August, 1916, to the 31st January 1917, and trust that all present will read this carefully on their return home. It gives me great pleasure to be able to announce the smoothness and efficiency with which the new organisation has worked, and as you will see from page 85 of the report practically all large Red Cross organisations in India are now either working in conjunction with or affiliated to a Joint War Committee.

The report gives so full an account of our activities up to the 31st January last that no further remarks are called for from me. I wish, however, to say a few words as regards what has happened since then. As you will see from the addenda to the report, we have supplied five motor ambulance cars which have been subscribed for by the District War Association, Gurdaspur, 24-Parganas District War Fund, Midnapur Zamindari Company, Chikodi taluka of Belgaum district and the Salvation Army of India and Ceylon. Special interest attaches to the last mentioned, the money for which had been raised to a large extent from the poorer classes in sums ranging from one anna to one rupee, an excellent example of what can be accomplished by co-ordinated effort. We also sent eight touring cars to Mesopotamia and one to our representative on the North-West Frontier, whilst we have under construction one motor lorry and one motor *char-à-banc* for Karachi and two motor *char-à-bancs* for Poona. In addition to the above three motor ambulances, launches of the Wardha type and four runabout launches together with a large supply of spares has been

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sent to Baghdad where we opened an advanced depôt within a few days of its capture by General Maude's forces. One of these runabouts was presented by Mr. H. Beatts of Calcutta through Lady Sanderson, the remainder have been paid for by the Central Fund. I may mention moreover that the hospital-ship "Nabha," subscribed for by the United Provinces Special War Fund and sent out in sections from home by the Red Cross Society, has been put together in Bombay and sent to Mesopotamia. I wish particularly to invite attention to the reports on page 73 by Surgeon-General Treherne and on page 76 by Major Moens showing the good work done by the Red Cross motor launches, hospital-ships, barges, etc., on the Tigris.

It gives me great pleasure to announce the following new endowments of beds at the Lady Chelmsford Special Red Cross X-ray and Electro-Therapeutic Hospital, Dehra Dun : Raja of Sirmoor, 3 beds for 1 year ; Maharaja of Faridkot, 1 bed for 1 year ; Maharaja of Bastar, 1 bed for 1 year ; Surma Valley Branch of Indian Tea Association, 1 bed for 1 year ; Messrs. Child and Company, 2 beds for 1 year and 1 bed for 6 months ; Imperial Indian Relief Fund, 4 beds for 1 year ; Rai Bahadur Seth Narsingdas Mohata of Hinganghat, 13 beds for 1 year. As regards the Mesopotamia Commission we have now undertaken to take over the entire supply of indents, only passing on to London requests for articles which cannot be supplied from India. The cost of meeting these demands is about half a lakh of rupees a week, or two lakhs of rupees a month. In addition to this we have sent them within the last six months Rs. 90,000 in cash to meet their demands, especially in connection with the opening of the new advanced depôt at Baghdad. I am glad, however, to be able to mention that I have now received a telegram from London stating that the Home Association is prepared to finance our Mesopotamia expenditure. Subject to certain adjustments we are also appointing, at their request, a sub-committee sitting at Bombay to supervise the Basrah stores indents. This committee will consist of three members, namely, Major Hepper, Mr. Davies, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnardo. Moreover, the Government of India have now accepted the liability of providing for all motor transport. This will considerably relieve the pressure on us, but we still have an anxious time before us.

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It must be remembered that in addition to the supply of comforts for the sick and wounded returned to India, in connection with which the demands from the various war hospitals are daily increasing, we have also heavy charges to meet the upkeep of our large Red Cross depôt at Alexandra Docks, which, in addition to storing and forwarding articles to Mesopotamia and complying with indents from military hospitals all over India, also replenishes the equipment of all ambulance trains and hospital ships calling at Bombay. In addition to this we have now opened a subsidiary depôt at Lahore under the superintendence of Lady O'Dwyer, to act as a base of supplies to the Frontier, and we have sent Major Madden as Assistant Red Cross Commissioner to open advanced depôts at Tank, Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu in connection with the Waziristan Field Force and have given him the necessary staff of storekeepers and clerks. The military authorities have also provided a motor lorry for the conveyance of Red Cross supplies and we are pushing up as rapidly as possible large quantities of material, in the supply of which we are receiving valuable assistance from both Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford's and Lady O'Dwyer's working parties. We are also equipping a hospital for officers at Abbottabad.

As regards our further activities, I may mention that we give a monthly recurring grant of Rs. 3,000 to Poona for the entertainment of convalescent soldiers and are providing them with a cinema and two *char-à-bancs*, the upkeep of which has been generously arranged for by His Excellency Lord Willingdon. Two new hospital trains for service in the northern area, which have been constructed by the military authorities, have been equipped by us, one by the Sind Women's branch of the Joint War Committee and the other by the Bombay depôt. All this requires money and our financial position was so precarious in March last that it was constrained to issue an urgent appeal, copies of which you will find with the various papers placed before you. In response to this appeal, not taking into account the sum of £64,000 sent by the Home Committee, we have received Rs. 5,55,607, the details of which have either been already published or will be mentioned by the Treasurer in his report. I wish, however, here to return our special thanks to Their Excellencies Lady

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Chelmsford, Lady Willingdon and Lady Carmichael, as well as to the Central and Bombay branches of the Imperial Relief Fund, the Calcutta and Western India Turf Clubs, the United Provinces Special War Fund and the United Provinces Ladies' Association, as well as to Lady O'Dwyer, Lady Meston, Lady Robertson and Lady Earle for the generous donations sent by them and by the various associations working in connection with them. I also wish to tender my special thanks to the Masonic bodies throughout India, from whom we have received in cash and promises nearly Rs. 15,000. The result of all this generosity is that we have at the present moment a balance of a little over seven lakhs of rupees. I trust, however, that there will be no slacking on the part of subscribers, as although we have now a fair balance in hand, it is hardly sufficient to carry us through the ensuing six months.

In conclusion I also wish to express our particular gratitude to Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford's Simla-Delhi Working Party, and to Lady O'Dwyer's for the valuable assistance they have given us in connection with the despatch of a large quantity of supplies to the Frontier and to Lady Carmichael's Bengal Women's Work Party in Calcutta for all they have done in connection with Mesopotamia. I also wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness both to the Rev. James Black and to Major Ross for the yeoman service they have performed as joint honorary secretaries to the Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee; Colonel Henry, our honorary treasurer, and Major Hepper and Mr. Davies, for their excellent work as honorary superintendents of the Red Cross Department at Alexandra Docks and Major Wallis, our motor expert, who has devoted so much time and trouble to advise us on all points connected with motor transport, and who has personally superintended the construction of all motor ambulances, *char-à-bancs* and lorries built in Bombay.

Mr. Grant then proposed the names of the following gentlemen for re-election as councillors: Raja Sir Harnam Singh, General Haji Hafiz Obeidullah Khan, Mr. H. R. Phelps, Mr. J. P. Chrystal, Khan Sahib Haji Buksh Ellahie, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, Sir Robert Highet, Mr. Abbott and Colonel W. T. Grace. After Mr. J. B. Wood had seconded the motion it was carried unanimously.

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Colonel Henry then presented the accounts for the past year after which His Excellency made the following speech.]

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Those of you who were in church last Sunday will realise how it comes about that we are meeting not on St. John's Day, but on the 27th of June. I need not therefore enter into any further explanation for the unwonted day of our annual meeting.

It is difficult to realise that a whole year has passed since last we met in this hall, but much has happened, and I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress which has been made.

In particular I recall that, on the occasion of our last annual meeting, I laid stress upon the fact that the total membership of 3,000 for All-India could hardly be considered adequate or satisfactory in view of the great task which in these days has been laid upon the St. John Ambulance Association. I am glad to say that the membership has risen from 3,000 to 7,500 since I made that appeal, and I have little doubt that, as day by day the work so efficiently carried out through this Association becomes better and more widely known, the roll of membership will continue to expand.

Of course I have an appeal to make this year too. From your knowledge of the character of meetings such as this and of the rôle which the President has to fill, that can hardly surprise you. In the first place, there is the financial appeal. You will hardly expect to escape from that. But before I sound it, and before I turn to the special needs created by the war, I should like to direct your particular attention to the suggestion just made by the Vice-President in regard to the organisation of voluntary work for women in local hospitals

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in India. All, or nearly all, who are free from ties, all who can by any possibility be spared, have moved out of our daily life and been caught up in the great machinery of the war. Meanwhile the station hospitals of India are still with us. Believe me they are not very bright and cheerful places, and I am sure that the suggestion now put forward, that, so far as possible, women should organise themselves to help to brighten the daily work of their own local hospitals is one which will commend itself to this audience and to the wider audience outside these walls.

I notice with regard to the subjects taken up by the students that hygiene and sanitation were poorly patronised in some centres. I can well understand that in time of war those subjects will more especially attract which have particular relation to the time in which we live, and I hope that the neglect of the above-mentioned courses of instruction is only a passing phase. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of widely disseminated knowledge of hygiene and sanitation in the life of the community.

Let me now turn to the actual war work of the Association. We can all remember the anxiety we felt last year with regard to our medical arrangements in Mesopotamia. They patently fell short of what was requisite, and yet, with the summer upon us and with our limited resources, it was difficult to see how the needs were to be met. I greatly fear that our attempts fell short of what we could all have desired. One step, however, there was open to us to take, and as you may remember, we took it. We affiliated ourselves to the Joint War Committee in England of St. John and the Red Cross, and we have no reason to regret having done so. The headquarters in London have helped us nobly, and we are able to

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face you with confidence to-day largely because of their generous assistance. I think I may quote two extracts without impropriety from a letter which I received from Sir Arthur Lawley, Commissioner for the Red Cross in Mesopotamia—

“ I am glad to say that whithersoever I turned my steps I was met by a hearty expression of gratitude for the services which the Red Cross has rendered in various directions. The early appearance on the scene of our Red Cross river launches was hailed as a perfect god-send. It is no exaggeration to say that, without them, the Administrative Branch of the Medical Service would have been paralysed. In the evacuation of the wounded their help has been invaluable. At the recent Sanna-i-yat battle they carried over 760 wounded in less than 24 hours. From the firing line to base at Basrah there is not a hospital unit afloat or ashore to which the Red Cross Comforts have not been issued with a generous hand. In the dark days of deficiency in 1915 and 1916 the sufferings of the sick and wounded were mitigated to an incalculable degree, thanks to the devoted labours of our Red Cross representatives in this country.”

Again “ The difficulties (that is of the campaign) are being tackled and overcome to-day with marvellous success, but I am certain that, whatever human agency may do in the way of provision, it is inevitable that the coming hot weather will again put a tremendous strain on our medical organisation.”

“ But, after what I have seen since my arrival in this country I am certain that you may contemplate

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the future with perfect confidence, so far as that organisation is concerned. I have had an opportunity of testing, so to speak, every link in the chain as far as a layman can do so, and I feel assured that the chain is throughout free from flaw and will bear any strain put upon it, however great the strain may be."

This letter was written on the 26th February and the summer is again upon us ; but I have every reason to hope that the experience of this summer will be something very different from that of the summers of 1915 and 1916, and those who are responsible for the work of the Indian Branch of the Joint War Committee of the Orders of St. John of Jerusalem and the British Red Cross Society may undoubtedly lay some credit to themselves for the good work which has been accomplished. Some details of that work have already been recited. To those among you who would like to look further into the matter, I would recommend the clear and interesting report issued by Sir Pardey Lukis which enumerates the various features of the first half-year's work under the Joint Committee.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I promised to make a financial appeal. You have seen how our work has grown and also how it has prospered and advanced by giant strides in efficiency. This vast organisation cannot be maintained, these huge demands and indents cannot be met, without a constant drain on the generosity of the public and a constant flow of money. The authorities at home have helped us without stint. They will no doubt continue to endeavour to meet any demands we have to make upon them. They

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have indeed, I understand, undertaken to do so. But it would be ungenerous on our part to shut our eyes to the fact that as the war goes on, as the pinch on those at home gets closer and closer, and the demands of all kinds made on them heavier and heavier, it is only right and proper that India, which in comparison feels the war so much less acutely in its home-life, should make increasing efforts to expand the sphere of its utility and the extent of its sacrifice. Mesopotamia lies close to our door. Let India do her utmost to take the strain of catering for the needs of our men in Mesopotamia from off the sorely overburdened shoulders of the men and women in the homeland, who have the greatest battle front of the world's history within ear-shot. Would it not be a reproach that the welfare of our forces in Mesopotamia should be added to the burdens borne by those at home? I know we have our war hospitals in India to supply, our forces on the North-West Frontier to provide for; but still I think you will all agree with me that we can make greater efforts, and ought to make greater efforts, to lighten the burden resting on our friends at home.

I gladly acknowledge the generous donations made by the Princes and people of India and I take the opportunity of thanking those who helped to organise the Red Cross Fête and Lady Monro's Lucky Bag here in Simla and to arrange the Pageant which swelled our funds. What I ask for is continuing effort, and that your eyes should not for one moment cease to contemplate the vast sacrifices undertaken by people at home on behalf of the men who have fought and are fighting for the Empire. There will then be no fear that the sphere of work which lies at our gates will be neglected.

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Before bringing my remarks to a close, I should like to welcome His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who makes his début to-day as Vice-President of our Association.

He will, I am sure, be the first to recognise the good work which has been done everywhere in the theatres of war by the Joint Committee of St. John and the Red Cross; and he will forgive me, I know, if I repeat what I stated in my speech last year, *viz.*, that the work of the Joint Committee is not intended to relieve the military authorities of their responsibility in the medical sphere, but to supplement those efforts and if need be to act as a conscience for the military machine.

In conclusion, I will ask you all to join with me in warmly congratulating Sir Pardey Lukis and the Committee on what they have accomplished since we last met, and in wishing the Association all success in coping with the work that lies ahead.

Let us hope, and we can do no more, that, before another St. John's Day comes round, this terrible war will be with us only as a horror which has had its place in history, and that we shall have once more resumed the normal work of our Association.

CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
AT SIMLA.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Mr. J. L. Maffey, 20th August
opened the Conference at Gorton Castle at 11 A.M. on Monday the 20th 1917.
August.

In addressing the Members His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

You have been asked to meet here in Simla to consider certain important questions relating to our educational system, and I have come to open your conference, not with

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any idea of attempting to influence your deliberations, but with the sole purpose of bidding you welcome and of emphasising the importance I attach to the questions which you are about to discuss. And first let me repeat, at the risk of seeming platitudinous, the principle which I would urge should govern all educational conferences: Examine the question which is being laid before you solely from the educational standpoint. I quite appreciate that it may be looked at from other points of view, but we are not asking you to do this. What we are asking you to consider is whether, accepting the present policy with regard to English any improvement can be made in the general arrangements now in force in our schools with reference to the teaching of English and the use of English as a medium of instruction, keeping two desiderata in view—first, that students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught; and, secondly, that they may complete their secondary course with a more adequate knowledge of the English language than at present.

Some of you may be aware in this connection that the larger question of making the Indian vernaculars *media* of instruction and the study of English, as a second language, compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools was brought up in the form of a resolution in the Imperial Council in March 1915, and that the then Education Member, Sir Harcourt Butler, deprecated any reference to Local Governments on the subject until after the end of the war. It is not our intention to go back on this decision, but I have thought it well that we should have this small conference in the meantime with a view to clear the ground and to arrive at a better idea of the points which should later on be referred to Local Governments for consideration.

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You will observe then that the scope of your enquiry is strictly limited, but none the less there is important spade work for you to do, and I look forward to valuable conclusions being reached by you.

While, however, you will be forming your conclusions on the working of the present arrangements prevailing in the schools, it may not be amiss if I remind you briefly of the past history of this question in its broader aspects.

As you are all aware, we go back for our beginnings to Macaulay's famous Minute of 2nd February 1835. In that Minute Macaulay gave, as has been said, a decisive bias to the course of education in India and decided unhesitatingly in favour of English. But Macaulay was not oblivious of the claims of the vernaculars and looked forward to the formation of a class which should "refine the vernacular dialects of the country, enrich these dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

From 1835 we pass on chronologically to 1854, when a despatch was written by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council on the subject of the education of the people of India, and from this despatch let me quote certain striking passages:—

"It is neither our aim nor our desire," the Directors say, "to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population....."

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In any general system of education the English language should be taught when there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular language must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, English..... We look therefore to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the *media* for the diffusion of European knowledge."

The Education Commission of 1882 did not put forward any definite recommendations on the subject, but came to the conclusion that a boy was more intelligent if he had studied through the medium of the vernaculars till the highest classes were reached. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 was strongly in favour of the inclusion of vernaculars as a subject in the higher courses even up to the M.A.

The Government Resolution of 1904 laid down that English should not become the medium of instruction earlier than the age of 13, and that no scholar in a secondary school should even then be allowed to abandon the study of the vernacular.

Now these extracts raise some important points.

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Macaulay decided in favour of the highest education being in English, but clearly contemplated an improvement of the vernaculars so as to make them the vehicle of Western thought.

The despatch of 1854 went further. It distinctly contemplated the encouragement and enriching of the vernaculars by translations from English, the limitation of English education to very few and the propagation of Western knowledge through translations.

Sixty-three years have elapsed since the date of Sir Charles Wood's despatch and English education has taken firm hold upon the country. It is surely out of the question now to talk of going back on the established lines of our educational system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administration of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, is it not obvious that the substitution at this time of day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics, even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy? I would further ask them to remember the great divergence of opinion among the Indian members on this subject which was manifested in the debate in 1915 on the resolution to which I have already alluded. I think that the discussion which then took place affords strong confirmation of what I have just said. Again, the very multitude of the vernaculars presents a practical difficulty for which I have never seen a satisfactory solution propounded. Moreover,

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with each generation English will come more and more to be learnt not in the schools but in the everyday intercourse of the home. This larger question is not now before you, but in view of what has been urged elsewhere, I have briefly enumerated some of the patent objections to a reversal of the present policy.

Accepting then this position, what is there that we can do? I believe a very real advance can be made in the encouragement of the vernaculars both outside and independently of their place in our educational system and within it.

Again, within our educational system we should carefully consider the present teaching of English. It may be, for instance, that we are concentrating our attention too largely on the teaching of English literature and too little on the acquisition of English as a living language. Whatever the cause, I think it is common ground that the teaching of English in our schools is not as satisfactory as we could wish. It will be for you, Gentlemen, to help us with your advice in this matter.

Lastly, I come to the subject of the *media* of instruction.

As you all know, the vernaculars and English are both the *media* of instruction in our schools, and it is sometimes overlooked to what a large extent the vernaculars figure at the present time as a medium of instruction. But it is certainly worth our while to examine from the educational standpoint what the relative position of these *media* should be to each other, having in view the one object, *viz.*, that the pupil should derive the greatest possible advantage from his schooling. This is a matter on which only those who have practical knowledge of work in the schools are competent

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to advise, and I can only regret that I have not that first-hand knowledge which would entitle me to give an opinion. You, however, have that knowledge and I feel confident that you will be able to give us some sound and practical advice. Do not, I pray you, despise this piece of spadework which we are asking you to do. From my experience of educational work, I would impress on you the importance of these seemingly small points of practical working. The best laid schemes often go astray through the neglect or mishandling of some small detail, of which only those at work in the schools realise the importance. I recognise the value of large and generous ideals in the sphere of education, but we must never forget the need from time to time of examining and making sure our foundations, and what more important, what more practical, task in this connection could be laid upon you than the duty of devising means whereby students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and to complete their secondary course with a more competent knowledge of the English language than at present ?

[His Excellency gave a warm welcome to the members and emphasised his deep personal interest in the important subjects they had been called together to discuss.

Mr. Natrajan, in thanking the Viceroy, said :—" As a non-official member of this Conference, I hope I may be permitted, on behalf of us all here, to express to Your Excellency our gratitude for the trouble you have taken to come here and open this conference this morning. We know how numerous and pressing are the calls which beset the statesman who is charged with the high duty of guiding the Indian Empire in the path of progress in these eventful times. Our appreciation of Your Excellency's presence here to-day is all the greater on that account, and we regard the inspiring words which you have addressed to us here as a happy augury for the success of this conference

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'called as it has been to deal with the most important question of secondary education, which is the corner stone of our educational system but which has rather tended in the past to be neglected, owing to the more clamant voices of primary and university education. I once more thank Your Excellency, on behalf of us all for your presence here this morning."

Mr. Davadhar seconded the motion.

In acknowledging the vote of thanks, His Excellency briefly alluded to his personal experience extending over seven years of educational matters in London and alluded to the importance of details in educational questions. He hoped to make the personal acquaintance of the members at Viceregal Lodge later.]

OPENING OF THE 1917 SIMLA SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

5th September 1917. [The first meeting of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 5th September in the Council Chamber, Viceregal Lodge, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. All members were present except Mr. B. N. Basu and Sir D. E. Wacha. The Visitors' Gallery was packed with ladies and gentlemen, both European and Indian. Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford was also present.

After His Excellency had taken his seat Messrs. C. E. Low, C.I.E., M. N. Hogg, C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., J. G. Jennings, M. E. Couchman, D. de S. Bray, C.I.E., and Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E., took the prescribed oath of allegiance.

At question time Mr. Jinnah asked, in view of the recent announcement and also the proposed visit of Mr. Montagu, and having regard to the feelings which have been aroused in the country by the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, whether the Government of India propose to consider the question of their release.

Sir William Vincent replied: The Government of India are prepared to recommend to the Government of Madras to remove the restrictions

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placed on Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale under the Defence of India Rules if the Government of India are satisfied that these persons will abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the remainder of the war. In taking this course the Government of India are actuated by the confident hope that the recent announcement of His Majesty's Government and the approaching visit of Mr. Montagu to this country will have such a tranquillizing effect on the political situation as to ensure the calm and dispassionate consideration of the difficult problems which are to be investigated during his stay in this country. The Government of India are prepared, subject to the same conditions, to take the same course in regard to other persons upon whom restrictions have been placed under these rules merely by reason of their violent methods of political agitation.

This statement was received with much satisfaction by the Indian Members and created a considerable sensation in the galleries.

Mr. Jinnah asked a supplementary question whether Government were prepared to take into consideration the cases of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

Sir William Vincent answered that the Government were already considering the cases and were enquiring into them.

After interpellations His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—]

First let me welcome you to another Session. You will already have heard from the Secretary in the Legislative Department that I am attempting this year to make the Simla Session more interesting, to admit resolutions, and to get forward with legislation. But all this, as I think Hon'ble Members will on reflection understand, can only be done under certain conditions. The administrative work of the departments has to be carried on and the

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situation of the Council Chamber is the reverse of convenient for the majority of Members. When you adjourn, you are far from your places of habitation, and any reasonable period of adjournment would practically be absorbed in passing to and fro. Hon'ble Members and Secretaries also have to get through their daily work. I propose therefore each day to sit approximately until 2 P.M. and then to adjourn until the next date of Session. In this way we shall get through, I hope, the greater part of our work and shall not put Members to an excessive amount of inconvenience. The large number of resolutions received will however make it difficult for us to achieve this unless Members co-operate in expediting business. I have gone into the matter with the Secretary in the Legislative Department, who is, as you all know, exceedingly solicitous for the comfort and convenience of Hon'ble Members, and I hope that the arrangements he has made will meet with favour in your eyes. In any case, if Hon'ble Members are dissatisfied they have only to mention the matter to Mr. Muddiman and I shall be very happy to consider any representation which they may wish to make.

Before I proceed to discuss larger questions, I should like to allude to the loss which the Council is shortly to sustain through the appointment of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to the Council of the Secretary of State. Mr. Basu has been a conspicuous figure in this Council and has won for himself the esteem and regard of us all. The many Committees to which he was appointed, the attention which was always paid to his speeches, the cordial reception which has been accorded to his appointment, all testify to the high position which he had won for himself. Speaking for myself, my

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pleasure in suggesting his name to the Secretary of State was tempered by the sense of the loss which we should sustain through his appointment. On the other hand, I was most anxious that there should be on the Secretary of State's Council one who was in intimate touch with the latest political developments, and I am sure we can all agree that in Mr. Basu the Secretary of State has obtained an adviser who will be of eminent service.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani had only lately joined us, but equally I feel that in him the Secretary of State will find one whose long intimacy with Native States will enable him to advise with authority from the point of view of those States. His period of office also on the Council of the Governor of Bombay will have given him an insight into administration which cannot fail to be of value. I do not think that anyone who has come in contact with him can have failed to be impressed by his sagacity and earnestness of purpose.

In recording then our sense of loss by the departure of these two eminent colleagues, we can, I think, congratulate ourselves that their services are not lost to India, but are merely translated to another and most honourable sphere of usefulness in the cause of their native land. I must remind you in this connection that the Secretary of State has now three Indian Members on his Council. The presence of these Members in London will, I think, secure the full representation of the current political views in India when momentous questions of policy have to be decided.

I now come to larger questions. It is just a year ago since this Council came together as a new Council and I presided over you as Viceroy for the first time. It was then early days

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for me to put before you my hopes and fears, my aims and aspirations. Moreover, I laid down for myself as a principle of conduct that I would make no promises of which I could not see the prospect of early fulfilment. It is one of the accusations which is sometimes brought against the Government that lavish promises are made; that days and weeks and months and years pass, and that the promises are not honoured. I shall not argue the point whether this can or cannot be described as a true bill. But for myself I shall ask you to judge my administration on work accomplished and not on promises made. And now let me put before Hon'ble Members in as clear, succinct and unvarnished a manner as possible what has been done during the sixteen months of my administration and what we hope to do. Dismiss from your minds any preconceived ideas as to motives. It is an old legal maxim that the law does not enquire into motives, but judges of a man's intentions by his acts. This is the principle on which I would ask you to arrive at your conclusions. You, gentlemen, are here to co-operate with Government in its policy and administration. It is before you then in the first place that I lay an account of what my Government has done and is hoping to do.

I think I may outline our policy generally as follows :—
We put before ourselves three main tasks—

Firstly.—To secure that the services of the Indian Army should not go unrecognised or unrequited, and that rewards to them should hold the foremost place.

Secondly.—That we should endeavour to remove any grievances, either sentimental or material, which we found to exist.

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Thirdly.—That we should define the goal of British rule in India and map out the roads leading to that goal.

Let me take these tasks in order and examine what progress has been accomplished.

First then with regard to the Army. I venture to think that Hon'ble Members and India generally will approve our determination to mark in as signal a manner as possible the services of those gallant soldiers who are upholding India's honour on the battlefields of three continents. The pay of Indian officers, sub-assistant surgeons and non-commissioned officers has been substantially increased. The rates of *batta* allowed on field service have been raised. Ordinary pensions have been improved, while wound and injury pensions have been enhanced and made admissible under more generous conditions. The soldierly qualities of the *personnel* of our Mule Transport Corps, who have rendered such excellent service on every front, have been recognised and rewarded by the grant to them of combatant status, thus placing them on the same footing as other Indian soldiers. In addition to the above, the grant of free rations, which, in the case of Indian ranks, was formerly restricted to those serving in the field, has now been extended to all combatants serving in India. The value of this concession is equivalent to an increase of over 30 per cent. to the sepoy's pay, and is thus, in effect, a handsome addition to the latter. This concession should prove of great benefit to the health and physical development of the soldier, and, to judge from the stimulating effect which it has on recruiting and the favourable reports which have reached us, it has met with very general approval.

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Recent gazettes have shown that the individual gallantry and good services of Indian officers and men have been liberally and promptly rewarded, and we have now under consideration a scheme for the bestowal of land grants, or equivalent alternative rewards, on Indian soldiers who have rendered specially meritorious service, and we hope that it will be brought into operation before long. We have accepted the Commander-in-Chief's recommendations for the improvement of the lines of Indian troops, including the quarters of Indian officers, and these reforms should, when carried into effect, add greatly to the comfort of all ranks. We also have before us proposals for the replacement of the regimental hospitals of Indian troops by well-equipped and adequately-staffed station hospitals. These proposals, besides increasing the efficiency of the Indian Medical Service, will secure for the patients a higher standard of comfort and attention than is possible under present conditions.

Hon'ble Members will recollect that Captain Ajab Khan at our last Session put forward several suggestions, for the Commander-in-Chief's consideration, in regard to various minor details affecting the contentment and well-being of the Indian soldier. I am informed that many of these suggestions have been adopted, while others are receiving sympathetic attention.

As a memorial to the services of the Indian Army in the present war, we contemplate the institution of a school for the education of the sons of Indian officers. There is no body of men which has rendered more faithful and loyal service, and we hope that this school may not only enable the next generation to prove themselves worthy sons of their gallant fathers, but to start their careers with educational

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advantages which will enable those who show special ability and character to rise high in the service of their King-Emperor.

Last, but not least, I may mention that we have forwarded to the Secretary of State a despatch embodying our proposals for opening to Indians British Commissions in His Majesty's Army, and we have been informed by him that His Majesty's Government accept our proposals, of which they had received the main outlines by telegram, in principle. As a mark of his approbation of their services during the war, His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to appoint nine Indian officers to British Commissions with effect from the 25th August. I would remind Hon'ble Members that the question of Commissions is one that dates back to what I may describe as prehistoric times. It has been the subject of discussion by Government after Government, and Lord Curzon hoped that, by the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps, he had taken the first step towards solving the difficulty. Years slipped by however and nothing was done until we took up the matter again. I do not disguise from you that the problem bristles with difficulties. Nevertheless, we have grappled with them with a sincere desire to arrive at some practical solution, and the appointment of the nine officers referred to may be regarded as an earnest of the favourable attitude of His Majesty's Government towards our proposals. We now trust that our efforts to dispose of a problem, of which the solution is long overdue, will be met by goodwill on all sides. We ask for loyal co-operation on the part of those who see danger and difficulty in our policy, as also on the part of those who may be impatient of mere beginnings.

Let me now turn from the Army to the second task which we set ourselves. There have been outstanding for many years matters which have been regarded as grievances by

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Indians. We felt, as a Government, that it was our duty to endeavour to remedy those grievances, and that no policy of reform would be complete which did not include an honest endeavour to do away with them. I will proceed to narrate what progress has been made in this direction.

The position of India within the Empire has obviously the first claim on our attention. You will perhaps remember what Lord Hardinge said in his speech of 22nd September 1915 to this Council—

“ From this statement of the actual constitution of the Imperial Conference you will see that the ultimate decision upon the representation of India at the next meeting of the Conference rests with the Conference itself. It is of course premature to consider the manner in which the representation of India, if admitted, should be effected, but *prima facie* it would appear reasonable that India should be represented by the Secretary of State and one or two representatives nominated by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Viceroy, such nominees being ordinarily selected from officials resident or serving in India.”

The next step was taken when His Majesty's Government decided at the beginning of this year to convene a special War Conference in London, and the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Government of India, nominated His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, and Sir Satyendra Sinha as his colleagues in the representation of India—a notable advance on the representation which Lord Hardinge foreshadowed. In alluding to this subject I said at our last Session—

“ I am sorry to think that the enormous importance of the decision taken by His Majesty's Government stands in danger

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of being minimised and discounted by hasty and not very well-informed criticism. As the French proverb has it, 'it is the first step which counts', and India has been admitted to-day for the first time to a place of honour at the Council table of the Empire. It marks a point in the history of India which though it may not be seen in its true perspective to-day will, I have no hesitation in saying, be the beginning of a new chapter in India's history under the Imperial flag." I think I can claim to-day that events have proved me to be right.

An Imperial Cabinet, it is now announced, is to meet once a year. India is to be represented in this Cabinet and one representative from India is to attend the Cabinet in the same way that one representative attends from each self-governing Dominion.

The status of India in the Empire is thus fully recognised and an advance has been made such indeed as might have been hoped for, but was scarcely to be expected a year ago.

Again, as regards the position of India in the Empire. The Dominion representatives have accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment, and have commended to the favourable consideration of their Governments three general principles—

First, that the facilities for settlement accorded to Indians should not be less advantageous than those allowed to subjects of other Oriental nations;

Secondly, that facilities should be accorded to educated Indians visiting the Colonies for travel and study as apart from settlement;

Thirdly, that Indians who have already been permitted to settle should receive sympathetic treatment.

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We in this country may regret that these principles do not go further, but I think Hon'ble Members will admit that a great advance has been made in this most important question. And let me bring to your notice in this connection a notable utterance in the Canadian Parliament. On 18th May last Sir Robert Borden said—

“ I found it of very great advantage in discussing matters of common concern to India and ourselves that we had the representatives of India at the Conference. I invited the members of the Conference to meet informally at the hotel at which I was staying, and we had a free, full, and frank discussion of the whole situation in so far as the Dominions are concerned. India has had matters of difference, matters sometimes of controversy, with South Africa, perhaps also with Australia and New Zealand and on some occasions with Canada. Sir Satyendra Sinha stated the case from the Indian standpoint with great ability and fairness, conspicuous moderation, and very deep feeling. His address to us was not the less impressive because it was so fair and so moderate. On our part, we spoke with equal freedom, equal frankness, and, I hope, with equal moderation. The net result was the resolution at which we arrived, and which I have read. Its basis is the idea that the self-respect of India shall be maintained by an agreement that whatever measures we enforce in regard to the emigration or the visits of Indians to Canada shall also prevail with regard to the emigration or visits of Canadians to India.

“ I do not think that any one in this House can dispute the fairness of that proposal. Upon certain other matters which we discussed I need not dwell to-day. I see nothing but good in the presence of India at that Conference, and I believe that

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there will be no objection in this House or in this country to having that great dependency of the Empire represented at future meetings. India has been splendidly loyal in this war and has contributed of her manhood and of her treasure for the purpose of enabling us to win it. We must take that all into account. Her civilisation is different from ours; it is more ancient, in some respects it may be said to be on a higher plane. There is more of idealism in their civilisation; more perhaps of materialism in ours. I am not disposed to discuss the question as to whether one or the other civilisation is superior; but I do say that the Indian civilisation is entitled to our respect, and that we must do our part in making the inhabitants of that great dependency of the Empire feel that they are not treated with contumely or injustice by the people of any of the Dominions. I believe that purpose will be carried out; I believe it will be materially assisted by the Conference which we had with the Indian representatives."

I think we may congratulate ourselves on Sir Robert Borden's sympathetic speech and see in it a happy augury for the future.

Again, in the abolition of Indentured Immigration we may claim to have satisfactorily dealt with another grievance. I think Hon'ble Members in the past scarcely realised the difficulties with which the Government of India had to contend in relation to this matter. Pledges had been given with regard to the maintenance of the system until a substitute had been found which, though understood in India to mean abolition within a very short period, were understood in a very different sense in the Colonies. I had to be jealous of India's good faith in this matter, but I am glad to say that the action which we took in prohibiting emigration under the Defence of India

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Act, thus leading to abolition, is now fully accepted and understood by the Colonies and the Colonial Office, and for this removal of any misunderstanding we have to thank our delegates to the Imperial Conference, Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Sinha, who by their explanation of India's attitude at a meeting held at the Colonial Office were able to remove any suspicion of bad faith which might have attached to our action.

I need not dwell at length on the well-worn theme of the cotton duties. This matter has been a source of grievance upon which British and Indians have alike expatiated for the past twenty odd years. That grievance has now in large measure been removed, and while of course we know that the action taken is to be subject to reconsideration when the fiscal arrangements of the different parts of the Empire come to be reviewed at the end of the war, I venture to prophesy, as I did in the case of Indentured Emigration, that such things, when once abolished, cannot be revived, and I need hardly say that the Government of India would offer the most strenuous opposition were such a course proposed. I think you may take it that, in any fiscal changes which may be introduced after the war, the interests of India will be fully considered.

There still remain two subjects of grievance, *viz.*, Indian Volunteering and the administration of the Arms Act. In my speech on the Indian Defence Force Bill I said that "Volunteering, as we have known it under the Volunteers Act, 1869, is dead. It is useless to spend money on a military force which is bound to be ineffective under the conditions and nature of its existence." But under the Indian

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Defence Force Act we offered an opportunity for Indians to enlist and men have been enrolled and University Companies have been established at Calcutta, Bombay and Allahabad. These corps, though not nearly as strong in numbers as we could have wished, will afford us some useful guidance as to the future. I can only regret that the experiment has not been more successful.

And here, though the subject is not strictly germane to the matter in hand, I should like to congratulate Bengal on the battalion of regular soldiers which it has raised and those—Dr. Mullick in particular—who have been instrumental in raising it. I hear the very highest praise given to the keenness and zeal of the men, and I look forward to their proving their prowess against the foe.

The question of the administration of the Arms Act is one which requires considerable and detailed examination. We have had it under examination now for some time and we are still awaiting the views of Local Governments on our proposals, but this much I can say that we as the Government of India will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial distinctions.

I now turn to the third task, *viz.*, Constitutional Reforms. At the very first Executive Council which I held as Viceroy and Governor-General, I propounded two questions to my Council—

- (1) What is the goal of British rule in India?
- (2) What are the steps on the road to that goal?

We came to the conclusion—which, I trust most Hon'ble Members will agree, was inevitable—that the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire

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with self-government was the goal of British Rule, and His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms their policy in respect of this matter, a policy which I may say that we as the Government of India regard in substance as practically indistinguishable from that which we put forward. With regard to the second question, after a careful and detailed examination of the ground, we arrived at the decision that there were three roads along which an advance should be made towards the goal. The first road was in the domain of local self-government, the village, the rural board, and the town or municipal council. The domain of urban and rural self-government is the great training ground from which political progress and a sense of responsibility have taken their start, and we felt that the time had come to quicken the advance, to accelerate the rate of progress, and thus to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen, and to enlarge his experience.

The second road, in our opinion, lay in the domain of the more responsible employment of Indians under Government. We felt that it was essential to progress towards the goal that Indians should be admitted in steadily increasing proportion to the higher grades of the various services and departments and to more responsible posts in the administration generally. It is, I think, obvious that this is a most important line of advance. If we are to get real progress, it is vital that India should have an increasing number of men versed not only in the detail of every-day administration, but in the whole art of government.

I doubt whether there is likely to be anyone who will cavil at the general conclusion at which we arrived as to these two roads of advance ; but agreement must not blind

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us to their importance. There is no better source of instruction than the liberty to make mistakes. The first and foremost principle which was enunciated in Lord Ripon's Self-government Resolution in May 1882, and was subsequently emphasised by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe in their despatches of 27th November 1908 and 11th July 1913, respectively, was that "the object of local self-government is to train the people in the management of their own local affairs, and that political education of this sort must take precedence of mere considerations of departmental efficiency." We are in complete accord with that principle, hence our advocacy of an advance along the first road.

Equally we realise the paramount importance of training in administration, which would be derived from an advance along the second road. There is nothing like administrative experience to sober the judgment and bring about an appreciation of the practical difficulties which exist in the realm of administration, and it is from this source that we may look forward in the future to an element of experienced and tried material for the legislative assemblies.

We come now to our third road, which lies in the domain of the Legislative Councils. As Hon'ble Members will readily appreciate, there is no subject on which so much difference of opinion exists and with regard to which greater need is required for careful investigation and sober decision. I may say frankly that we as the Government of India recognise fully that an advance must be made on this road simultaneously with the advances on the other two, and His Majesty's Government, in connection with the goal which they have outlined in their announcement, have decided that substantial steps in the direction of the goal they define

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should be taken as soon as possible. Some criticism has been directed against the Government of India on the score that we have not disclosed the policy outlined in our despatch. I must remind Hon'ble Members that the decision on such a question rests, not with the Government of India, but with the authorities at home. Moreover, on the larger question of a declaration of policy, in view of its unique importance, I have steadfastly refused, in the face of much adverse criticism, to anticipate by any statement of my own the decision of His Majesty's Government, who alone could make a final and authoritative statement, and I was careful to warn Hon'ble Members in my opening speech to them last February of the likelihood of delay, owing to the grave preoccupations of the Cabinet at home. Well, this however is, I hope, now immaterial, for His Majesty's Government have announced their policy and have authorised the Secretary of State, with His Majesty's approval, to accept my invitation to visit India and to examine the issues on the spot. I had invited Mr. Chamberlain to visit India some time back. He was on the point of accepting when his resignation took place. Immediately on Mr. Montagu's assumption of office, I expressed the hope that he would see his way to accept the invitation which I had extended to his predecessor, and I am delighted that the Cabinet have decided that he should accept. Some apprehension has been expressed lest the Government of India is about to be superseded temporarily by the Secretary of State. There need be no anxiety on that score. As I have told you, Mr. Montagu is coming on my invitation to consult informally with myself, the Government of India and others. He will make no public pronouncements of policy, and business between the Government of India and the Home Government will be conducted through

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the regular channels and the Council of India. There is no question of supersession, but the outstanding advantage of Mr. Montagu's visit is that he will now have the opportunity of making at first-hand an examination of the questions in issue, and for my part I shall leave nothing undone to enable him to receive all the suggestions of representative bodies and others which he may desire. In these circumstances and in view of Mr. Montagu's assurance that there will be ample opportunity for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament, I would suggest to Hon'ble Members that the intervening time before his arrival might be spent in the quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before Mr. Montagu. For myself I am anxious that, when Mr. Montagu arrives, we—and in that pronoun I include all those representative bodies and others mentioned in the announcement—should have ready to place before him all the material which will enable him to form a reasoned judgment.

I hope Hon'ble Members will not regard my advice as suspect, but I would press it on their attention. Is it too much to ask that, when Mr. Montagu arrives in India, he should find a calm atmosphere, suggested policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety dominating everyone worthy of the issues to be examined?

I had intended to deal in my speech with Mrs. Besant's internment, but the answer to the question on the subject which you have just heard makes this unnecessary. I would only add that Lord Pentland's Government took action against her with the greatest reluctance, and after Lord Pentland had personally attempted to dissuade Mrs. Besant from the course which she was pursuing.

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There the subject must rest for the present and I revert to a survey of the practical activities of Government. I have described in former speeches our policy with regard to Industrial Development. In dealing later with the activities of the Munitions Board, I shall show what great hopes we entertain in this direction, and when on the termination of the war we have in our hands the report of the Industrial Commission, which we shall be able to compare with the experience we have derived from the working of the Munitions Board, I am confident we shall be in a position to make a great move forward.

I had hoped to find an opportunity to deal at some length to-day with our plans in regard to Agricultural Education, but important as the subject is, it must give place to more important matters. For the present I will confine myself to mentioning the fact that a Conference was held in Simla last June under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, whose absence from Council I may say we all regret; that conclusions were reached as to the means by which a real and permanent improvement in agricultural methods could be effected through the medium of education at schools and colleges; and that the recommendations of the Conference will be shortly referred to Local Governments.

My summary of our activities would be incomplete if I did not allude to the subject of education. We are all agreed that a definite advance must be made in the sphere of education—especially of primary education. There is no direction in which an advance is more urgently needed, and it is especially essential in relation to real political progress; but for that very reason, as I think Hon'ble Members will readily

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see, it is not possible to indicate the actual line of advance. But I can assure you that we are fully alive to the urgency of the problem, and it is only the fact that there are other problems—intimately connected with this—awaiting solution which prevents me from indicating our policy in this most important question.

So far Hon'ble Members in listening to my speech might imagine that there was no such thing as a war in existence, and that my Government's time had been solely occupied with internal problems and had devoted no time or thought to the problem what India could do to help in the great struggle. I will now explain what we have done and what we are trying to do. In my opening speech to you at Delhi I said our motto must be "effort and yet greater effort." During the past six months that motto has been ever before us, and I can confidently say that we have done our best to act up to it. There are three directions in which we can help—materials, men, and money.

As regards materials, we set up some six months ago a Munitions Board under Sir Thomas Holland, who reports progress to me every week. I am able therefore to give you of my own knowledge some account of the activities of the Board, and, if it proves somewhat long, you must excuse it on the ground of the real importance of people generally knowing the scope of our activities.

Although certain scientific and technical services had been organised before the war, and individual experts had been employed by Local Governments for the purpose of facilitating the development of our natural resources as well as industrial enterprises, the Government of India have for

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some time been conscious of the fact that these efforts were more sporadic than systematic. They were nevertheless not without value as experiments necessary to establish the data required to formulate a more comprehensive policy. The marked success which has followed the organisation of research and demonstration work in scientific agriculture, and the assistance which has been given to the mineral industries by the Geological Survey are striking examples that encourage a bolder policy on similar lines for the benefit of other, and especially the manufacturing, industries.

With the object of gathering together the results of recent attempts to assist industrial development, and for the purpose of formulating schemes for a more systematic policy, my predecessor appointed a Commission which has commenced its survey and expects to complete its investigations during this next cold weather.

Meanwhile, special conditions arising directly from the war—the shortage of ocean transport facilities, the cutting off of supplies of many manufactured articles, and the necessity of economising man-power in the United Kingdom—have induced my Government to anticipate the findings of the Industrial Commission by organising at once, so far as is possible under present circumstances, the resources of the country, with a view of making India more self-contained and less dependent on the outer world for supplies of manufactured goods.

The Munitions Board was founded five months ago, with this main object in view, and its organisation has grown so rapidly along the lines originally planned that its activities now exceed in bulk those of most Government departments.

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Of the two main objects kept in view when this organisation was planned, the supply of essential stores for the armies in the field has necessarily been given precedence to the ultimate object of developing established, and of inaugurating new, industries in India. The primary object of the Munitions Board was immediately essential, while the accessory object was regarded as more distantly important. But experience has demonstrated the inventive fertility of necessity; and success beyond expectation has already followed attempts to manufacture in the country articles that formerly could be obtained only from abroad.

In carrying out its primary object, the Munitions Board has gathered together the hitherto isolated fragments of other purchasing departments, and has welded them into a single organised machine for the purpose of regulating contracts and amalgamating demands, thereby buying on a larger scale, and preventing the competitive buying between various Government agencies which previously caused those disturbances of local markets that were neither good for Government nor for the commercial community.

The early activities of the Board were necessarily confined to a re-grouping of the centrally controlled official machinery. In co-operation with the Local Governments, however, outposts have now been instituted in every province, and the frame-work having thus been established, the development and consolidation of the whole body should proceed on sound lines. It has been necessary hitherto largely to employ existing official agencies; but with the foundations now laid, it is hoped to be possible to obtain the co-operation of representatives of the non-official community in so far as this is consistent with their own competing commercial interests.

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A few members of the commercial community have already offered their full-time services, and others have undertaken part-time duties as members of local priority committees. With the consolidation of the organisation it is hoped that further representatives of the unofficial community will be able to take part in this new institution.

In revising the indents made by Government officials on the Stores Department of the India Office, and in controlling the applications made by private importers for permission to import articles on the English list of prohibited exports, it has been found practicable to curtail numerous demands that were formerly made in ignorance of Indian resources, and thus to bring the would-be importer into touch with the local manufacturer. The centralisation of information in this way has revealed the fact that numerous isolated demands, each made on a scale too small to tempt local enterprise, often form in the aggregate markets of a size sufficient to justify the organisation of new industries. To detect the existence of these and to assist private enterprise, a special branch of the Board is devoted to the collection and distribution of industrial intelligence. In extension of works of this nature, arrangements are being made for the distribution to colleges of research problems having a direct industrial value, the distribution of the problems being controlled so as to prevent unnecessary overlapping and duplication of work.

It would take too long to recite all the activities of the Board, but I will give you one example to show the way in which our present war necessity is being turned to account for industrial development of a kind likely to become permanent. The simultaneous export of raw hides and raw tanning materials has often suggested to economists the desirability of

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developing the tanning industry in India. Hitherto, enterprises in this direction have been attended with but limited success. In order, however, to meet the War Office demand for leather, tanners in India have now been given orders on a scale that has encouraged them to reform their methods, and, by having to work regularly to a rigid standard of high quality, striking improvement in their work has already taken place. In order more fully to turn to account the various natural tan stuffs of India, the Munitions Board, with the generous consent of a group of Central Indian States, has taken over the tannery at Maihar to test new tan stuffs, new combinations of known materials, new processes, and the manufacture of concentrated tan extracts. The experimental work at this tannery is controlled by a Committee composed of members of the tanning industries and expert leather chemists. Those results which, on an experimental scale, appear to be successful, are being tested on a commercial scale at the Allahabad tannery, recently purchased for the purpose. The results, as they become established, will be published for the benefit of tanners in other parts of India, any of whom will be welcome to inspect the processes in actual operation at Allahabad. In co-operation with the Forest Department, the Munitions Board has organised the collection of those materials that are shown by the experimental work to be promising tan stuffs, and has arranged with the Railway Companies for their distribution at uniform and low rates of freight. A certain number of students are already being entertained as apprentices, and it is hoped later on to develop this side of the work by the formation at Allahabad of an institute in which the scientific aspects of tanning will be taught in conjunction with practical work on a commercial scale in the tannery itself.

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It is in directions like this that the work of the Munitions Board will grow until, at the end of the war, its machinery should be ready to be utilised with practical effect in carrying out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission.

Such in brief summary is the work of the Munitions Board, vital as regards our present necessities and pregnant with promise for the future, but I should be ungrateful if I were to pass on without recording my grateful recognition of the services of Sir Thomas Holland. His drive, the unusual width of his scientific knowledge, his business capacity and industry have converted what might otherwise have been a futile experiment into a practical working success. I sincerely trust that his services may long be spared to India, and that, after this war is over, he may be willing to inaugurate, what I believe has always been the dream of his heart, the industrial regeneration of India.

I have outlined the activities of the Munitions Board. I will pass on to some details of our material output in other directions. The shortage of river craft, which hampered operations in Mesopotamia in the earlier phases of the war, has been overcome and a numerous and well-equipped fleet now plies on the Tigris between Basrah and Baghdad. The War Office has done much in the way of providing its *personnel* and equipment; but of the actual vessels now in commission, no less than 57 % have been supplied by India. Besides requisitioning existing river craft, we have been able to build or re-construct a number of steamers, launches and barges in India, and with improved arrangements for the towing of these vessels, the proportion of losses in transit to Basrah has now greatly diminished.

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It is an open secret that the last few months have witnessed great activity in the way of railway construction in Mesopotamia. The whole of the rails, sleepers, bridging material, engines, rolling-stock, and *personnel* required for the construction and working of these lines have been provided by India. We have also provided technical *personnel* and railway material in large quantities for Egypt and East Africa.

Besides meeting the heavy demands of oversea railways, we have drawn largely upon India's limited resources in the matter of electrical plant and *personnel* in order to equip the power stations which have been established at various places in Mesopotamia and provide the generating plant required for the electric lights and fans of general hospitals in the field.

The Telegraph Department is another branch of our civil administration which has been called upon to meet the demands of the army in Mesopotamia and East Africa. Some 9,000 miles of line, with all the posts, stores, tools, instruments, officers and *personnel* required for their construction, maintenance, and working have been provided by it since the beginning of the war, and the workshops of the department have, in addition, carried out a great deal of miscellaneous work for the army.

Our Farms Department has provided the experts, *personnel*, cattle and plant required for the military dairies which have been established in Mesopotamia, as well as the *personnel*, implements and seeds required for vegetable cultivation on a considerable scale. These measures, which illustrate how varied and numerous are the requirements of a modern army in the field, should, when fully developed, have a beneficial effect on the health of the troops which has already improved in a marked degree. General Maude reported, only

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a few days ago, that the general opinion of officers and men is that "they have never seen troops so well fed." The great decrease of scurvy, which is now almost a negligible cause of inefficiency, and the absence of other diseases due to malnutrition, afford eloquent testimony to the success achieved. I hesitate to be dogmatic in such a matter, but the evidence which comes to me from many sources justifies me, I think, in saying that our troops are now well cared for and liberally supplied, and the knowledge of this will, I feel sure, cause the liveliest satisfaction throughout India.

Coming now to men ; last October the Hon'ble Sir Michael O'Dwyer furnished me at my request with a memorandum on military and civil co-operation. It was full of valuable suggestions, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at once on his arrival took the matter into consideration ; and after the question had been carefully examined by Army Headquarters, we determined to establish a Man-Power Board whose duty it would be to collect and co-ordinate all the facts with regard to the supply of man-power in India. In close touch with this body, similar bodies have been set up in all the provinces with the object of keeping the central body informed as to local conditions.

These measures, you will be glad to hear, have proved highly successful, for whereas before the war the annual intake of recruits for the Indian Army could be reckoned in thousands, it has now to be reckoned in tens of thousands, and to judge from the number of men now offering themselves for enlistment, there is every prospect of the present rate of recruitment being maintained. The extent to which our recruiting activities have increased will be appreciated when I tell you

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that, previous to the war, our average enlistments for the army did not exceed 15,000 per annum.

The briskness of recruiting has enabled us to maintain a steady flow of reinforcements to the various fronts, and facilitated the raising of a number of new units. With the increase of combatant units, there has, of course, been a corresponding expansion of departmental services, such as engineer, medical, transport, ordnance, and supply *personnel*, to say nothing of organised labour which is now represented by some 20 labour corps in Mesopotamia and another 25 in France. Besides the above, upwards of 60,000 artisans, labourers and specialists of various kinds have been enlisted for service in Mesopotamia and East Africa, and some 20,000 menials and followers have been recruited and despatched overseas.

To meet the demands created by wastage in the field, the raising of new units and the ever-increasing numbers of soldiers and followers under training in depôts, we have had to provide for a corresponding increase in officers. This has been, and is still, one of our greatest difficulties ; but the Indian Army Reserve of Officers which consisted of 40 members at the beginning of the war, now numbers over 3,000, and I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of their services. Besides the demand for more combatants, there has been a great demand for additional medical officers. This has been met, partly by the withdrawal of some 350 officers from civil employment and, I am glad to say, by the utilisation of the services of Indian practitioners, of whom no less than 500 have accepted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service. These satisfactory results have been largely due to the energetic efforts of Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, assisted by the Inspectors-General of Civil Hospitals serving under Local

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Governments. The Civil Medical Department has also rendered valuable assistance to the Army in the manufacture and supply of stores, drugs, vaccines, sera, and quinine for oversea expeditions, most of which, but for the assistance so promptly and efficiently rendered, would have been imported from Europe or America.

But I must not pass from this subject without alluding to the continued loyal and effective services rendered by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

Their Imperial Service Troops, to which must now be added the Imperial Service Camel Transport Corps from Bahawalpur and Khairpur, are serving beside our own in almost every theatre of our operations, while money and contributions in kind are constantly being offered for the acceptance of Government. The Nizam's munificent gift of £100,000 towards the anti-submarine campaign shows how truly His Highness has appreciated the important factors in the struggle and the conditions which have brought the peril by sea to the very gates of India. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has presented a flotilla of motor launches for Mesopotamia at a cost of over one lakh of rupees, and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has given motor ambulance launches for the same destination. Aeroplanes have been purchased for Government by the Feudatory Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, while contributions towards the cost of the war have been made by the Maharajas of Indore and Bharatpur, the Maharana of Danta, the Raja of Dewas, and many other Princes. It was with very keen pleasure that I was able to announce that, in recognition of the great place which the Indian Princes hold in the Empire, His Highness the

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Maharaja of Bikaner had been selected to be one of the representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference recently held in London. Those of us who know His Highness will agree that no better choice could have been made, and what we have heard from England amply confirms our opinion. Since his return to India, His Highness has again been called upon to assist Government in its deliberations, and as Members of the Central Recruiting Board, both he and His Highness the Maharaja Scindia have been engaged with my officers in solving the difficult problem of obtaining adequate numbers of recruits for all branches of the Indian Army. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala as representative of the Chiefs of the Punjab, whose people have hitherto led India in the matter of recruitment, has also helped the Board with his presence and advice. While sharing with us these Imperial interests, the Princes and Chiefs have also their own State questions and problems, and for the discussion of some of these I have invited Their Highnesses to another Conference at Delhi early in November next. I look forward to that opportunity of thanking them in person for the loyal, consistent, and generous support which they have ungrudgingly given to the Government of India in these times of stress and anxiety.

I may mention a question of great importance affecting particularly the interests of the maritime States in Kathiawar, which has recently been under the consideration of the Government of India. Hon'ble Members are, no doubt, aware that some years ago it was found necessary in order to protect the revenues of British India to institute a preventive customs line at Viramgam. Complaints have been received from time to time of the detrimental effect of this line on the trade

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of the country and of the hardships caused to the travelling public. Negotiations were therefore undertaken with the Baroda Durbar and the Kathiawar States with a view to their adopting measures which would safeguard Imperial interests. These negotiations, I am glad to say, have now been successfully completed, and I hope that it may now be possible to take immediate steps for the abolition of the customs line. I would point out that this question has been outstanding for some twenty years and it is a great satisfaction to me to see it finally settled.

I will now conclude with a brief survey of Finance and of Foreign politics.

At the close of the Delhi session I emphasised the fact that it was the duty of all of us to secure the maximum response to the Indian War Loan. I can now express my satisfaction at the result achieved, the total receipts (including the Post Office section of the Loan and the Cash Certificates, but excluding Treasury Bills received in England) amounting to over £32 million. I hope that a substantial amount will still be added to this figure, as the Post Office section of the Loan does not close till the 15th October, while the Cash Certificates will remain on sale throughout the year. Apart from sums subscribed in British India, very handsome subscriptions have been received from many Ruling Chiefs and States, the largest contributions from Princes or Durbars being, Gwalior Rs. 88 lakhs; Hyderabad Rs. 75 lakhs (besides Rs. 38 lakhs otherwise subscribed in this State); Mysore Rs. 35 lakhs (in addition to Rs. 37 lakhs otherwise subscribed in the State and in the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore); Bahawalpur Rs. 40 lakhs; Baroda Rs. 31½ lakhs, and Patiala Rs. 25 lakhs, while nearly

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Rs. 2 crores in the aggregate have been received from Chiefs and States other than those mentioned above. Not the least satisfactory feature of the Loan has been the response to the Post Office section of it: the amount received through this channel already exceeds £6 million (of which the Post Office Cash Certificates account for £ 4 million), or a sum larger than has been raised in India by the Government in any one year before the war. I am grateful to the efforts of the various workers who have contributed to this result, and I trust that, so far as the Post Office section is concerned, they will not relax their efforts.

As you are aware, the proceeds of the loan will be remitted to the Home Government in London as part of India's £100 million contribution to the war; but a few words are necessary as to the manner in which the loan receipts in India have been utilised. As I said in March last, every million that comes from India helps to ease the exchange difficulty, and the assistance which we have obtained has been of great value to us, particularly in view of the large increase in the war expenditure which it has been necessary to meet in India and Mesopotamia on behalf of the Home Government. This will greatly exceed the amount allowed for in the Budget estimates, which were based on the best data then available, and we now expect that the excess will practically swallow up the whole of the amounts so far received on account of the Indian War Loan over and above the £ 10 million assumed in the estimates for budget purposes. But for these additional receipts, therefore, the difficulties in arranging for the finance of the special expenditure which it has been necessary to meet, as well as for the finance of trade, would have been even greater than those we have now to face.

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Moreover, the heavy military disbursements which we are making by no means exhaust our share of the financial burden which the war imposes. As indeed has been shown by the various urgent and insistent appeals for financial assistance which we have received, India is the financial pivot of the British Empire in the East. Thus apart from the expenditure in India and Mesopotamia to which I have just referred, she is also undertaking the finance of large quantities of wheat, jute manufactures, hides and numerous other essential commodities which she is supplying to Great Britain, to the Dominions and to the Allied Governments. She is also providing funds on a considerable scale to East Africa and Persia, and has had on various occasions to assist Ceylon, Mauritius and Egypt by remittances of specie and otherwise. Of course we receive repayment for these services, but as it is not made in India, they necessarily constitute a continuing tax on our present resources here. While we are anxious to continue to meet these obligations to the limit of our capacity, the strain is necessarily a very heavy one; and in spite of the substantial receipts from the War Loan, it has been necessary to reduce the weekly allotment of Council Bills from 120 lakhs to 90 lakhs with effect from the 1st August. I very greatly regret the difficulties to trade which this further restriction of facilities must necessarily entail. We are, however, doing what we can to alleviate the position by the measures which we have adopted for controlling the import of gold and silver. We have, I am glad to say, been able already to acquire a substantial quantity of gold under the Ordinance. This has helped to strengthen the reserve against our Currency Note issue and, in so far as it is in the form of sovereigns, will also be available for direct issue as

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currency if necessary. Where the gold is in the form of bullion, arrangements have been made with the Australian Government under which it can, if necessary, be coined into sovereigns for us in Australia. This arrangement is, however, obviously not economical, and I have great pleasure in announcing that the Home Treasury have agreed as a provisional measure, subject to reconsideration after the war, to our undertaking the coinage of sovereigns at Bombay, a branch of the Royal Mint being constituted there for the purpose. These arrangements will be given effect to as soon as possible, but the settlement of details will necessarily take a little time.

Speaking last February of the North-West Frontier, I told you that the only discordant elements for the time being were the Mahsuds and the Mohmands; that the punishment of the Mahsuds must stand over till we had the leisure to deal conclusively with them, and that the Mohmands were paying for their misdeeds by a close blockade. Since then the Mahsuds by flagrant acts of hostility, by attacks on our posts and convoys, and by incessant raiding, made it impossible for us to hold our hand longer, and an expeditionary force under the command of Major-General Beynon was in consequence recently pushed into the heart of the Mahsud country. The result of these operations was entirely satisfactory and the Mahsuds speedily tendered their complete submission, accepting in full the terms dictated by my Government, even to the extent of surrendering the Government rifles which had fallen into their hands in the course of their previous engagements with our troops and Militia—a very real proof of their contrition. I trust a settlement so effected may relieve us from anxiety in this quarter for some time to come. In this connection it would be an ungrateful and ungracious

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omission on my part were I to fail to express our deep obligations to His Majesty the Amir, whose friendly influence served not only to discourage the Mahsuds, but also to steady the whole situation. Indeed, one of the very few happy results of this deplorable world-wide war has been that the ties of friendship between the Afghan Government and ourselves have been drawn closer, and our relations with His Majesty the Amir are marked by greater frankness, greater confidence and greater co-operation than ever before.

The Mohmands, too, chastened by the rigour of our blockade, have come to their knees and accepted the terms dictated by my Government.

Now although these two elements of discord have been so satisfactorily laid to rest, it would be obviously the height of folly to regard the frontier as no longer a potential source of danger or to relax our vigilance. So long as the disturbing influence of the war continues, so long as enemy agents can find their way into tribal territory, so long as fanatical preachers can play on the feelings of inflammable tribes, the situation must require careful handling and special measures of precaution. It is for this reason that I have been constrained to rule out, during the present session of this Council, a number of questions touching the administration of the North-West Frontier. The connection between the peoples of the settled districts and their wild neighbours across the border is so intimate, the reaction of feeling between them is so acute, that often special measures are necessary to nip incipient trouble in the bud and for the maintenance of peace on our borders. The discussion of such measures in this Council would obviously be out of place at the present

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time and could only serve to hamper the frontier administration; apart from the fact that to call for reports from our frontier officers on the various points raised, would be to burden already overworked officers at a time of anxiety with considerable avoidable labour. But I wish to assure you that the administration of the North-West Frontier is carried on under my own supervision, and that I am satisfied that no special measures have been adopted which are not justified by the peculiar circumstances of the Province.

Well, Gentlemen, that concludes my review of the policy and the activities of my Government in some of the many aspects in which our energies have been employed. The recital has necessarily been long, but I feel assured that all the questions dealt with have interest for some of you, while certain of the subjects I have touched upon are of vital importance to every Member of this Council, whether he sits as a Government official or whether he comes here as representing that great unofficial India now stirring into fuller political consciousness.

Perhaps I need hardly tell you that my task in addressing you to-day has been easier, and more congenial to me personally, than on any previous occasion. My Government, through no fault of their own, but by the force of circumstances, have till recently occupied a position of much difficulty. Criticisms and misunderstandings have beset us, yet we were not in a position to speak. Now I am able to lift the veil and I feel that Hon'ble Members here, and those whom they represent outside, will realise from my narration that our administration has not been sterile; nor our policy illiberal.

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To-day I can point to something accomplished, something done. The announcement now promulgated is a landmark in the constitutional history of India. It is not an edict which fixes and crystallises the Indian polity in a mould of cramped design. It is an announcement resonant with hope. It invites you forward at once along a stage of political progress and points you to a goal ahead.

At this great epoch in your national evolution I earnestly appeal for co-operation. Let us look upon the bitternesses of the past merely as the growing pains of a great people straining towards fuller development. Believe me, the years of guardianship and tutelage have not been so barren as some would have us think. The pace of India's political growth as measured by the development of her political machinery may have seemed slow, but who would deny that meanwhile her intellectual, economic, and national faculties have gone on from strength to strength?

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,

"Seem here no painful inch to gain,

"Far back through creeks and inlets making,

"Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

So much for the past, but what of the future? Do you for one moment think that in their relations with India the British people and the British Government will be guided otherwise than by those standards of justice and good faith which alone have kept India attached to the Empire and on which you have learnt to rely? From the King-Emperor down to his humblest subject, the British people are proud of the bonds which link them to India, and never more so than at this moment when the sons of India are fighting the battles of the Empire with such courage and devotion.

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Can anybody doubt that the persistence of these ties of affection is a matter of vital importance to the future well-being of India, and that it will be an evil day when those who are working together in this country are no longer inspired by their common share in a great and glorious page of history? But forgive me if I warn you — and this warning has no special application to any community, but includes British and Indian alike, the public leaders, and particularly the press representing every interest, and every class — forgive me if I warn you that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. It is only by constant and watchful regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom and bear fruit on Indian soil. Let it not afterwards be laid at the door of this generation that in these spacious times of Imperial regeneration we allowed the sense of imperial attachment, through any fault of our own, to lose its vitality.

Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make. It is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our good-will and in our sincerity of purpose. After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing—the welfare of India.

The task we have to approach is no easy one. There are conflicting interests to adjust, grave difficulties to overcome. Who knows them better than yourselves? Heroic remedies endanger the body politic no less than the human organism. I doubt if there is among us here any man who could propound a scheme of reform in which he felt full confidence and satisfaction as possessing exactly what the best interests of India require with due regard to the circumstances of her

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development and her present position. The questions at issue must be approached in a spirit of reason and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and co-operation. Let us then sit down together as friends, mindful of old historic associations, harbouring no mistrust, and let us examine these great problems solely from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and, above all, what is right.

It is indeed meet and proper that we should seek to put our house in order, but beyond our gates, stern and insistent, there still stands the great imperative of the war. Hon'ble Members will, I trust, realise from my words to-day that I have not in the past, nor shall I in the future, minimise the importance of the great question of reform. But we must not allow ourselves to forget for one moment that, far from India's shores, a question far more vital to the future of India is being desperately fought out; that the Empire is still calling upon her sons for their help, and that it is our first and paramount duty to throw our all into the scale. It is perhaps only natural from our remoteness from the scene of conflict that the call should sometimes seem faint and far-away, but I know that it has only to be sounded in clear notes for India's response to be as great and as ungrudging as of yore.

MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

[SIR M. O'DWYER'S SPEECH ON THE RESOLUTION RE COUNCIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE PUNJAB.]

19th Sep- At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held earlier in the
tember 1917. month His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab speaking on a resolution regarding Council Government in the Punjab used certain expressions which were taken exception to by the non-official

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Indian Members. His Excellency the Viceroy said that the Lieutenant-Governor wished to make a certain personal observation which he hoped Council would be glad to hear.

Sir M. O'Dwyer then made the following remarks:—

“*My Lord*,—With Your Excellency’s permission I desire to make a personal explanation to this Council before to-day’s debate on the resolution before us. I understand that certain remarks of mine at the last meeting of the Council on the resolution relating to the Punjab have aroused resentment in the minds of many Hon’ble Members. The views to which I gave expression were my own individual views. Neither Your Excellency nor any member of the Government of India had any prior knowledge, direct or indirect, of what I was going to say. For what I said, therefore, the responsibility is solely and entirely mine, and I do not wish to disclaim it. In the debate in question the recognition of the progress made by the Punjab and in particular of its services in the present war was the real issue under consideration, and in taking part in the discussion, as I stated at the time, my intention was while emphasising the particular services of the Punjab to take the opportunity to stimulate other provinces to similar efforts. I, therefore, criticised manifestations of public opinion because I regarded them as harmful to recruiting and to the mobilisation of all our resources in the cause of the Empire. Thus, I am sure the Council will agree with me, should be and is the first thought in our minds at the present juncture. If, however, in my zeal to hold up the Punjab as a model to other provinces, I criticised the attitude adopted by public men elsewhere in a manner which may have appeared invidious or has wounded the feelings of individuals, I much regret that my remarks produced a result which I did not intend. I also deeply regret that any action of mine should have had the effect of disturbing that spirit of harmony and co-operation for which Your Excellency made such an eloquent appeal at the opening meeting of the session. Nothing was further from my thoughts than to transgress Your Excellency’s wishes. Indeed I would ask leave to repeat to-day what I said at the last meeting that, quite apart from official obligations, the policy then announced by Your Excellency has my loyal and hearty support.”

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His Excellency then said :—]

I have little to add to what has already been said by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. I addressed Hon'ble Members so lately that my appeal for mutual forbearance will be fresh in their memories. His Honour, in a debate on a subject which was so little as I thought likely to be controversial that I was absent from it, unwittingly, as he has just told you, in his zeal to emphasise the good services and the merits of his province, transgressed the spirit of my special advice and introduced comparisons with the services of other provinces which I cannot help thinking were unnecessary for the building up of his argument and were undoubtedly contentious. He has expressed his regret, and I trust the incident by the consent of all may be regarded now as closed. Hon'ble Members, however, may say that they cannot sit down under the imputations which have been conveyed by His Honour's speech, but I would remind them that their silence in the present circumstances can in no sense be misinterpreted. In my judgment the calm and dispassionate examination of the matters alluded to in my speech of the other day is at the present moment the issue of supreme importance and nothing could be more unfortunate than if we were to be led off into any discussion which would imperil or jeopardise that great issue. I can well appreciate that many Hon'ble Members may desire to reply. But I suggest for their consideration that such a discussion could only tend to obscure the main question on which our thoughts should alone be concentrated. Speaking for myself and from my own experience of public affairs I have never in the long run found silence misinterpreted when there were obvious reasons for its being observed. I must now leave the matter with

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Hon'ble Members. They have an absolute right to continue the debate and they will of course be in order if they wish to reply to certain passages in His Honour's speech. The question for them to consider is whether in the present circumstances it is judicious, whether it is wise, whether above all it is desirable in the public interest.

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[The last meeting of the session was held on Wednesday, the 26th 26th September. His Excellency the Viceroy presided and in closing the session spoke as follows:—]

It only remains for me to close this Session and express the hope that Hon'ble Members will carry away the desire and intention of formulating quietly and dispassionately the views which they wish to place later before Mr. Montagu and myself.

This is the first occasion on which resolutions other than of a purely non-contentious nature have been admitted for discussion at the Simla Session. I think the discussions which have taken place have not been without value, and certainly points have been argued with great force and ability.

But before I formally declare the sitting closed I should like to make one or two remarks on the proceedings of this past Session. I have been steadfastly anxious that the tone of our Debates here should give a lead to India, and anyone can see that the Government have been scrupulous in their endeavour to discuss even the most contentious questions with studied moderation.

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Still it is in the clash of Debate that great issues are forged, and so far as is consistent with the dignity of this Council I would not for one moment wish to see our discussions here shorn of their force and vitality. Our proceedings would be hollow and unreal if Hon'ble Members, official and non-official, were not free within the recognised limits of controversy to express in temperate language views deliberately formed and honestly held. But I would remind them that this is a matter in which there must be give and take.

I look to find in India the highest standard of mutual dealing among men engaged in public affairs, even though their points of view may be different, and in this connection we do all honour to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for his generous action in our proceedings here on the 19th instant. It was the act of a strong man and an honest man, and must command our admiration.

I could not help feeling after hearing Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remarks that his generous attitude gave to one Hon'ble Member of this Council on that occasion an opportunity of displaying equal generosity in respect of a remark publicly made with reference to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The opportunity has not yet been taken, but I am glad to hear that the Hon'ble Member in question proposes to withdraw that remark on an early occasion.

Let me turn to other matters. I have observed that recent events have called forth misleading criticisms of the relations of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the one hand, and towards Local Governments on the other. Since I have held the Viceroyalty my relations with

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the Secretary of State, both with Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Montagu, have been most cordial, and both these statesmen have been uniformly anxious to work in full harmony with the Government of India, and I think I may claim that my own attitude towards the heads of Local Governments has been precisely similar. In this connection let me mention the case of Mrs. Besant. We, as a Government, would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and co-operation which I made in my opening speech of this Session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we have followed. Previous to the announcement of that policy the position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the opportunity that has now offered itself for opening a new chapter. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. Besant has passed her word to me that she will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit. I accept Mrs. Besant's word, and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated.

But, Gentlemen, while our policy has been conciliatory, it must not be supposed we have altered in any degree our attitude towards the forces of disorder. The prime duty of Government is to preserve order; in time of war it is a paramount duty; it is a duty which the Indian Government will not for one instant neglect.

But let us look forward rather than back. *Spero meliora*. We are no longer groping in the dark. We have an objective given to us, and we want the help of all to steer our course to that objective.

Do not let us then be drawn aside by ephemeral incidents, which have lent themselves to misconstruction, from the

Address of Welcome from Quetta Municipality.

great task which we all have in hand. Every interest and class will have an opportunity of putting their views before Mr. Montagu and myself, and provided these are consistent with the main possibilities of the policy formulated by His Majesty's Government they will receive sympathetic consideration. Let me assure those non-official Members who represent European commercial interests in this Council that these important interests will of course be fully considered. Everyone, I am sure, Indian and European alike, recognises the historic position of the British community in India, and the debt which India owes to its enterprise and its energy. And no scheme of reform which was sound could be based on injustice to the British or to any other community. We want all the best minds and the co-operation of all classes of the community. I will not say more on this point, for does not the time itself appeal to us all, whatever our race or creed or class, to co-operate in the spirit of Macaulay's lines :

“ Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the State ”?

In declaring the session closed I bid Hon'ble Members good-bye and wish them all a safe journey to their homes.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM QUETTA MUNICIPALITY.

22nd October 1917.

[His Excellency the Viceroy and party arrived at Quetta by special train at 4-30 in the afternoon of the 22nd October. As His Excellency descended from the train a salute of 31 guns was fired at the railway station. On alighting Their Excellencies were received by the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General and the General Officer Commanding. The Agent to the Governor-General then introduced Lady Ramsay and the Revenue Commissioner while the General Officer Commanding introduced the Senior Staff Officer to Their Excellencies,

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who were then conducted to where His Highness the Khan of Kalat and the Jam of Las Bela were standing. Both Chiefs were introduced to the Viceroy by the Agent to the Governor-General and to Her Excellency by the Revenue Commissioner. After this ceremony the civil officials assembled on the platform were presented in turn to Their Excellencies by the Agent to the Governor-General and the Revenue Commissioner. The military officers were similarly presented by the General Officer Commanding and his Senior Staff Officer.

When these presentations were over the Viceroy inspected the guard-of-honour consisting of Indian Infantry with band and colours, drawn up in review order on the platform, after which His Excellency received and replied to an address from the Quetta Municipality, the members of which were duly introduced to His Excellency by the Political Agent, Quetta-Pishin. Their Excellencies then left the station and drove in procession through the town.

The route was lined throughout by troops, and a guard-of-honour of British Infantry, with band and colours, and of the Baluchistan Rifles (Indian Defence Force) was drawn up outside the porch at the Residency. The Residency drive was lined by Boy Scouts. The elaborate decorations which generally characterise a Viceregal visit were on this occasion conspicuous by their absence, the Municipal Fathers having wisely decided to devote the money saved in this way to the more patriotic purposes of the war. In spite of this self-denying ordinance, however, the station with its large crowd of townspeople, both Indian and European, of Sardars and officers in uniform, presented a gay appearance.

The Municipal address was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the representatives of all classes and communities of the Quetta town, beg to tender to Your Excellencies, on behalf of our fellow townsmen and the people of Baluchistan generally, a cordial and most loyal welcome on this, the first occasion on which Your Excellency has honoured our rugged province with a visit.

Rugged and remote though Baluchistan may be, and small in point of population as compared with the regular provinces, yet Quetta

Address of Welcome from Quetta Municipality.

will yield pride of place to none in its devotion to the person of the King-Emperor, its position in the march of civilization and municipal enlightenment and progress, and its endeavour fully to play its part in the great war which must at present engross the energies of individuals and corporations alike throughout the Empire.

The glorious victories recently gained in the various theatres of war by the valour and determination of His Majesty's gallant troops are now filling all hearts with pride and confidence that the dawn of complete victory has at least broken.

Even under the shadow of the war cloud, however, a glance of the general improvements in the city will show that Quetta has not flagged in civic progress. In the province as a whole also peace and order have been fully maintained both during the excitement of the outbreak of war and the strain produced by its long duration. This satisfactory condition is due partly to the good sense and loyalty of the population and partly to the excellent relations which exist between Government and people in Baluchistan.

The question of relieving the Municipality of the cost of town police was under consideration when Your Excellency's predecessor visited Quetta in 1911. This relief has since been effected, and has enabled the Municipality to complete a suitable edifice for the Sandeman High School at a cost of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees, towards which the Government of India gave a liberal grant. The school has moreover been placed under a European Head Master, who is also the Superintendent of Education for the province. A building has also been provided for the European Grammar School, mainly from Provincial grants. The Municipality spends annually about 15,000 rupees on education, chiefly in the maintenance of a Girls' school, now raised to the Middle Standard, and grants-in-aid to other schools. The town now boasts of a public park, appropriately called "The McMahon Park," towards which Government gave a donation, and also a Public Library and Museum which were opened in 1906, and which are much appreciated by the general public.

There have been marked improvements in Sanitation and in the accommodation of the Civil Hospital, and a new building has just

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been completed for the Lady Sandeman (Dufferin) Zenana Hospital for which the greater part of the money was subscribed by private individuals.

The King Edward Memorial Serai, which is an ornament to the town and which provides suitable accommodation for the Sardars and headmen who come to Quetta from all parts of the province for annual *jirgas* and other functions, was completed and opened in 1914 at a cost of Rs. 1,32,000, of which Rs. 30,000 were contributed by Government and the remainder by public subscription.

Turning from purely civic matters to the affairs of the province as a whole, we have since the visit of Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor six years ago benefited by the extension of the railway system to the chrome mine area at Hindubagh, and also from Nushki to Dalbandin; and it is to be hoped that Your Excellency's next visit will witness a still further development of these excellent schemes, by the extension of their benefits to the public at large.

It is the heartfelt wish of one and all in Quetta that Your Excellency may not long defer a repetition of the honour you have conferred on our city; and that when that time comes we shall be able to look back on the great struggle of nations as a troubled dream with a happy ending. For that auspicious day, many reforms and improvements affecting the province as a whole, which involve the expenditure of funds now better employed against the common enemy will, we recognise, probably have to wait. Among these we may example the full utilisation of the latent wealth of Baluchistan in its coalfields by a further extension of the railway system, of the fruit industry on which so many of our inhabitants depend, by further works of which the Government Experimental Fruit Farm is an earnest; and of the general productivity of this and the adjoining valleys, by artesian wells or whatever improved system of irrigation may be found practicable.

The visit by the august representative of the King-Emperor to this outpost of the Empire at this which we hope and believe to be the deciding stage of the great world contest, is fraught with peculiar significance and inspiration to the citizens and officials alike. We hope,

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therefore, that it may not be considered out of place here to dwell for a moment on what we, in our humble way, have as citizens done towards the consummation of the end to which the energies of all are bent. This naturally consists mainly in actual money contributions to various funds connected with the war, which, though less glorious than service in arms, are possibly not less important. Briefly we may state that Quetta city alone has subscribed roughly three lakhs of rupees to the Indian War Loan, Rs. 22,000 to the Indian Imperial Relief Fund; and generous donations in money and necessaries to Lady Ramsay's Comforts Fund, which has done so much to alleviate the sufferings endured by our gallant British and Indian soldiers in Seistan and Mesopotamia.

In this connection, we trust that Your Excellency will pardon the absence of Municipal decorations to-day. This is due to the anticipation that Your Excellency would in these days of stress and suffering find a money contribution a more tangible proof of loyalty and esteem than a mere display of hunting.* We, therefore, beg to hand over to Your Excellency a sum of Rs. 5,000 as a contribution to "Our Day" or to be devoted to such other War Fund as Your Excellency may deem suitable.

Again expressing our heartfelt hope that Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford will at no distant date repeat the honour of your visit to Quetta, and assuring you of a no less hearty welcome at whatever time you may again come among us, we beg to subscribe ourselves.

His Excellency's speech was as follows:—]

Gentlemen of the Quetta Municipality,—This visit to the Province of Baluchistan and its Capital is a pleasure to which Lady Chelmsford and I have looked forward, and we are happy to-day to find ourselves in your midst. I thank you for the hearty welcome you extend to us. There are probably many here who can remember the time when Quetta was nothing more than a frontier fort sheltering a few mud houses and Baluchistan had not yet become a Province. To-day you have a populous town,

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a thriving mart, a great cantonment, all of which must vividly impress the visitors from across your borders. Your town is a gateway of India—a visible representation to those who enter by it of the strength of the British Empire, and an embodiment of the security and prosperity which different races and creeds enjoy under the British Crown.

Young though your town may be, it contains monuments associated with great names—the King Edward Memorial Serai, the Sandeman High School and Lady Sandeman Zenana Hospital; the Staff College, a reminder of the genius of Lord Kitchener; the McMahon Park. I know that the memory of those who have served in your midst would live amongst you even if there were no tangible objects associated with their names, because there is something in the people and in the soil and climate of Baluchistan which creates a bond between the people and their officers, and does not allow that friendship and its memory to die.

Men bearing the stamp of Quetta's training have earned distinction in every theatre of war, and the young officers who are now being trained in the same traditions will soon be going forth to prove the value of that training in the field. Gentlemen, you live in an atmosphere of preparation for war, and the traditions of your country are warlike. Six and a half years ago, when Lord Hardinge visited you, you said that the sword had been exchanged for the ploughshare. You made it clear that you were referring to the suppression of tribal strife and not to any decline in the spirit of the people. To-day the call is to that spirit and each part of the Empire must bear its share in the burden of the great war. Do not let it be said by future generations that your spirit

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has been weakened by softer conditions of life. There is a manly ring in your address. Live up to it.

You need not have feared that you would weary me by the narration of the details of your municipal work. I would gladly have heard more, and I shall do my best, while I am here, to see and learn what I can of the conditions of your municipal life.

Your recognition of the fact that in time of war claims for financial assistance ought not to be pressed does you credit. The Government of India did not forget Quetta in the days of peace and plenty and let me assure you that when those longed for days return they will accord sympathetic consideration to the aspirations outlined in your address.

You have referred to the recent railway extensions in your province. In the Hindubagh railway you have an extension of which you had long urged the necessity for the exploitation of valuable chrome deposits ; and it is hoped that the traffic will grow so as to justify the provision of further facilities. More ambitious and of older standing is the railway extension from Nushki onwards along the trade route which in due course will lead on, we may fairly hope, to a notable increase in your trade and contribute to the further development of your province.

In one important condition of development your province still lags behind. You have alluded to the excellent means of education afforded by your town, and in particular to the Sandeman High School. I am glad to hear that it is now worthily housed and reorganised under capable management. But in Baluchistan as a whole, education is making little headway. Persian literature and learning took root in

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Baluchistan before Urdu and English were even heard of and it occurs to me that it might be wise to revivify literacy among the tribal population on the old indigenous Persian lines while still offering facilities for a sound Urdu and English education to the scholars in your towns.

Notable among your local enterprises is the experimental farm, which in seven years has done much for your fruit gardens and has been of even greater service in affording practical demonstration that good crops of wheat can be grown with one watering only; and that your irrigated crops, in fact, require far less than was supposed of the water which is so precious in an arid country like Baluchistan. You are justly proud of your steady growth and you have been generous contributors according to your means to the War Loan, the Imperial Relief Fund, and the local branch, organised with such devotion by Lady Ramsay, of the Fund for supplying Comforts to the Troops.

You have shown a correct appreciation of the needs of the time by deciding to dispense with the costly decorations customary on an occasion such as this and to contribute in their stead the sum of Rs. 5,000 to "Our Day." I have great pleasure in accepting this gift, and Lady Chelmsford asks me to express her personal appreciation of your generous contribution to a cause in which she is herself most deeply interested.

Let me explain to you the object we have in view. The Central Committee of the St. John and Red Cross Associations has undertaken work for sick and wounded troops in India and Mesopotamia which is estimated to cost during the next 12 months a total of between 40 and 50 lakhs of rupees. This

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work is distinct from the many excellent undertakings with which local Committees have identified themselves. It is hoped by setting apart a special day, the 12th December, to focus effort throughout India, so that all Red Cross work centred in India may be placed on a sound financial basis for the year 1918. I have little doubt, Gentlemen, that we should attain our object if enough people would imitate your example and determine, between now and the 12th December, to abstain from all expenditure not absolutely necessary and to contribute the money so saved to the funds of Our Day.

And now, Gentlemen, accept my thanks once again for the warm welcome you have accorded to Lady Chelmsford and myself and permit us to enter your town.

DURBAR AT QUETTA.

24th October 1917. [At 11-30 A.M., Wednesday, the 24th October, the Viceroy held a public Durbar in the Sandeman Memorial Hall for the reception of the Ruling Chiefs, Sardars and other Indian gentlemen of Baluchistan. A large number of civil and military officers of Government also attended. Sardars and Durbaris were all in their places by 11 A.M. At 11-10 the Jam of Las Bela, accompanied by the Assistant Political Agent in Kalat and six attendants, arrived under a salute of nine guns and was received by an officer of the Baluchistan Agency and an A.D.C. to the Viceroy and conducted to his seat. Shortly afterwards came the General Officer Commanding the Quetta Division with his staff. He was followed by the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan with his staff, both officers receiving salutes of 13 guns. The last to arrive, under a salute of 19 guns, was the Khan of Kalat, accompanied by the Political Agent in Kalat, His Highness' brother and nine attendants. He was received by the Agent to the Governor-General and the Foreign Secretary, the Hon'ble Mr. Grant. He was then conducted to his seat on the right of the dais on which stood the Viceroy's throne, the seat to the left being taken by the Agent to the Governor-General.]

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His Excellency the Viceroy arrived punctually at 11-30 and on alighting from his motor a salute of 31 guns was fired, the guard-of-honour drawn up at the entrance of the hall saluted and the band in attendance played the National Anthem, while all present stood up and remained standing till His Excellency, who walked in procession up the hall through lines of the assembled Durbaris, had taken his seat.

After the Agent to the Governor-General had obtained His Excellency's permission to open the Durbar, His Highness the Khan of Kalat, with his brother, and the Jam of Las Bela were presented to His Excellency by the Foreign Secretary. The Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Dobbs, then presented the Extra Assistant Commissioners of the Province, after which the principal Sardars and notables were similarly presented. His Excellency the Viceroy then presented Mr. H. R. C. Dobbs with his C.S.I. badge and certain gentlemen on whom titles have recently been conferred received on presentation their *sarads* and badges at the hands of His Excellency, who also presented certain other decorations and rewards.

When these presentations were over, His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following address to the Ruling Chiefs, Sardars and gentlemen assembled in Durbar, a translation of which was afterwards read out in Urdu by an Indian official of the Agency.

His Excellency said :—]

Your Highness, Sardars and Durbaris of Baluchistan,— Though this is my first visit to Baluchistan, I feel that it is no strange and unknown corner of the great Empire committed to my charge that I am visiting, but a favoured Province which has become well known to me from the many reports I have received from my Agent, Sir John Ramsay, and in which I have taken, and must always take, a deep personal interest.

I know, for instance, of the demonstrations of loyalty which the outbreak of the great world war evoked throughout

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the Province, and how, following the inspiriting lead of His Highness the Khan of Kalat and the Jam of Las Bela, the Chiefs and headmen of Baluchistan—Brahui, Baluch, and Pathan alike—vied with one another in upholding the honour of their Province by proffering their resources in support of the British Raj. All this I learned with pleasure, but not with surprise, for Baluchistan would have been false to her traditions had it been otherwise. But when I was told that the martial races of Baluchistan still remain but scantily represented in the army, my surprise was almost as great as my regret. I recognise, and gladly acknowledge, the manly part your Frontier Province plays in standing guard, like a faithful sentinel, at one of the gates of India. I recognise also the sparseness of your population and the other difficulties peculiar to Baluchistan. But I trust that, with the help of Sir John Ramsay and his officers, you will now set yourselves in all earnest to devise means to secure a more adequate representation by Baluchistan in His Majesty's Forces.

Sir John Ramsay, moreover, has told me with justifiable pride of the notable change that has come over the Kalat State during his term of office; of the far-reaching reforms that His Highness the Khan, under the sagacious advice of Colonel Dew and with the able assistance of his Wazir, Khan Bahadur Nawab Mir Shams Shah, has introduced into all branches of his administration; of the skilful manner in which the State's finances—that essential basis of all administration—have been put on a sound footing; of the increase to the State revenues that has thereby accrued, without the ancient rates of taxation being raised, or the ancient system of taxation being changed; and of the grants assigned to public improvements, and to the development

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of the general resources of the State. This is a fine record of progress begun. But I attach even greater importance to it as a happy augury of progress yet to come. For in the administration of a State there is no halting place; the goal is never reached. You must press steadily forwards, or you will fall swiftly back. Hence, it is not merely because I appreciate what has already been done, but even more because I am assured that it is an earnest of the continued healthy development of the Kalat State under His Highness' guidance, that it affords me much pleasure to announce that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to grant to His Highness a personal salute of 21 guns, as a mark of his appreciation of the good example set by His Highness, both in the betterment of his administration and in his loyal support towards the prosecution of the war. And in congratulating His Highness on the receipt of this signal mark of Royal favour, I would at the same time congratulate the whole of Baluchistan on the high honour that has been done her in His Highness' person.

In these congratulations the Chiefs and tribes that make up the Kalat Confederacy should rightfully claim a large share. And I am glad that such share has for the most part been richly deserved. Of the Chiefs of Sarawan and no less of *some* at any rate of the Chiefs of Jhalawan—both Brahui and Baluch—Sir John Ramsay has rendered me good account. Their staunch loyalty and their active co-operation in supplying their quota of men-at-arms in support of the Mekran Levy Corps to help in reasserting the authority of the British Raj on the Mekran frontier and in quelling unruliness among their recalcitrant brothers within their own borders, are well known to me, and I am glad to give them in person

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that praise that is their due. I wish I could say the same of all in Jhalawan, but unhappily the record of Jhalawan has been marred by internal disorder and by defiance of authority which, when our patience was exhausted, received stern and just punishment. The day of reckoning is over. The lesson has been learnt, and it is my earnest hope that it will never be necessary to repeat it. Rather do I trust that those misguided tribes will now settle down to a peaceful life, and strive by good and loyal behaviour to win back the respect of their fellow-tribes and the favour of the Khan Sahib and my officers which they forfeited by their misdeeds, so that Jhalawan and Sarawan may once again stand side by side as the twin pillars that uphold the dignity of the Kalat State.

To the Jam Sahib of Las Bela I would express my thanks for the loyal assistance rendered by himself and his State towards the prosecution of the war, and my appreciation of the reforms which are being introduced into his administration with the aid of his Wazir, Khan Sahib Sharbat Khan. But I would ask the Jam Sahib also not to rest content with the progress that has already been made. Much remains to be done. Nor should there be any lack of stimulus. For I am told that there are potentialities in the State that only require careful development and good administration to hold out promise of much increase of prosperity to its inhabitants.

Turning to the Baluch *tumans* of the tribal territory. I would first express my sorrow that Sir Shahbaz Khan, Bugti, is no longer in your midst. I had heard of him as one of whom not only his own *tuman* but all Baluchistan was proud; and I trust that his son will follow worthily in his father's footsteps and like him will exercise that great influence which the

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tumandar wields over his *tuman* for its prosperity and the general peace and quiet of the country. But I have learnt with regret that the ancient feuds between Bugti and Mari, which we had hoped were well nigh extinct, recently broke out afresh and were even being pursued beyond tribal limits. This would be folly at all times ; but in these days it is worse than folly. When the King is at war, it behoves the peoples within his realms to be at peace among themselves. "A word to the wise is enough," runs the old saying, and the Chiefs and headmen of the Mari and Bugti tribes will be wise to take my word of warning very seriously to heart.

For the peace and order that reign in the districts I recognise that praise is due in particular to the Pathan tribes, who form the preponderating element in the directly administered area. Of the Pathans in the north-east of the Province Sir John Ramsay a few years back would have had a very different tale to tell. At one time it seemed as if neither life nor property were safe in Zhob and Loralai, for roving bands of robbers and outlaws harried the country, while the tribesmen did little or nothing to oppose them, but shirked their ancient responsibilities under the plea that they were powerless. To such a pitch did the evil grow that the old administration on tribal and customary lines seemed threatened with collapse. But with the advent, first, of Colonel Jacob to Zhob, and a year later of Major Ramsay to Loralai, there came a welcome change. Tempering their determination to restore order with a sympathetic recognition of the difficulties of the tribesmen, they set themselves resolutely to stamp out raiding from outside, and the even greater evil of apathy, helplessness and degeneration within. First and foremost they sought to quicken the tribesmen to a realisation of their

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inalienable responsibilities ; and by the distribution of Government arms among the tribes and the raising of tribal Scouts, and with the gallant assistance of the Zhob Militia, they rendered it no longer possible for the tribesmen to shelter themselves behind the plea that the responsibility for maintaining order in the country had become greater than they could bear. A full measure of tribal responsibility was thereupon enforced and loyally accepted ; on the other hand, every act of good service received its prompt and liberal reward. And on a return to that healthy condition of hearty co-operation of tribesmen with Government, which has been the tradition of Baluchistan since the days of Sandeman, Zhob and Loralai ceased to be a happy hunting ground for outlaws and raiders, and have now become almost as model districts as Sibi and Quetta-Pishin.

Your success in thus evolving order out of chaos must afford as much personal satisfaction to your officers as to yourselves. But both alike will readily join with me in ascribing no small measure of the permanence of your success and no small measure of the tranquillity that reigns along your northern frontier in general to the strong and far-sighted policy which throughout these troublous years of war has been unswervingly pursued by that statesmanlike ruler, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan, to whose invaluable co-operation with myself in enforcing orderliness along the frontier in the joint and equal interests of Afghanistan and India, I would again pay public tribute.

To myself your success is gratifying not only in itself, but is the more gratifying in that it is a triumphant vindication of that policy of firmness and conciliation, that policy of insisting on the Baluchistan tribesmen taking the self-government of

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Baluchistan, as far as may be, upon themselves, with which the revered name of Sandeman must for ever be associated. For success, after all, has been won, not by the originating of any new principles, but by an intelligent adaptation of old and well-tried principles to changed conditions. Had there been failure instead of success, the consequences would have been far-reaching indeed. For the first and paramount duty of all government is the maintenance of law and order. And if law and order in Baluchistan cannot be secured by the tribesmen themselves under their ancient tribal system, then Government, however much against its will, must resort to other measures of its own to enforce it. The future, after all, rests in your own hands. So long as you act up to your responsibilities and so long as your *jirgas* administer justice with fearlessness and impartiality, I will see to it that Government on its part gives you full measure of support in your task and jealously safeguards your ancient customs and privileges.

But I realise that you need no such assurance from me. Deeds speak more eloquently than words. And in the deeds of the roll of Baluchistan officers from Sir Robert Sandeman down to Sir John Ramsay, whose years of devoted service among you are now drawing to a close, and to Mr. Dobbs, who will shortly take over the reins of office from him, you have an assurance more eloquent than any words of mine that no Sardar or tribesman of Baluchistan could be more jealous for the ancient system and well-being and good name of Baluchistan, than the officers who serve in your midst.

A thought which must be uppermost in all our minds to-day is that this is the last Durbar at Quetta at which Sir John Ramsay will be present as your Chief. I am sure that

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he on his part will sever with regret the links which bind him to a province where he has worked so much good and inspired such deep feelings of confidence among the people as well as among his own officers. Let me speak on behalf of you all, both people and officials, with whom he has lived and worked here, and let me assure him that those feelings of regret are most sincerely reciprocated and that he will carry away with him the good wishes of the whole of Baluchistan in his retirement. Speaking as Viceroy I should like to express my deep gratitude to Sir John Ramsay for his wise and judicious administration which has been so potent a factor in the maintenance of peace and order on this frontier during these times of war and widespread upheaval.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM KARACHI MUNICIPALITY.

29th October 1917. [His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Karachi at 5-30 P.M. on Monday the 29th October and was received at the Cantonment station by the Commissioner in Sind, General Fowler, Commanding, Karachi Brigade, and all notabilities of Karachi and the district. The Mirs of Hyderabad were also present in the station hall. The guard-of-honour on the platform provided by an Indian regiment now in Karachi was under command of an Indian officer. After introductions to a long line of local notables on the platform, the Viceroy received an address from the Karachi Municipality, read by the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, which was as follows:—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the President and Councilors constituting the Karachi Municipality, extend to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a cordial welcome to this City.

2. During the last half century we have been visited by 7 former Viceroys, namely, Lord Northbrook in 1872; Lord Lytton in 1876; Lord Ripon in 1880; Lord Dufferin in 1887; the Earl of Elgin and

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Kincaid in 1894 ; Lord Curzon in 1900 ; Lord Hardinge in 1911 ; and now by Your Excellency. The comparative infrequency of these visits has probably been due to the long distance between Calcutta, the old Metropolis, and the circuitous railway route which necessitated traversing the whole breadth of India to reach Karachi. Now that, since the visit of Your Excellency's immediate predecessor, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, in April 1911, the change of capital, inaugurated at the Coronation of the King-Emperor, has halved the distance between Karachi and the seat of Government, we look forward to more frequent visits than we have been honoured with in the past. Indeed our vista extends with the most hopeful expectation to the time when the force of circumstances will combine to bring to Karachi the fullest advantages due to her favourable situation, one of the most cherished and pleasant of which will be the honour of according welcome to the coming and send-off to the parting Viceroys as they arrive in or depart from this country to take up or hand over their great office, whether that arrival or departure be by sea, land or air.

In this connection we may venture to suggest the urgent importance of a direct broad gauge railway line between Karachi and Delhi. We also consider it desirable to bring to Your Excellency's notice the necessity of direct broad gauge railway communication between Karachi and Bombay *viâ* Cutch. The public have been long agitating for these railways, and it is to be hoped that Government will see its way to overcome all possible obstacles thereto.

We may here make a passing mention of what in future may prove to be an event of vast potentialities ; namely, the application made to the Municipality for a large piece of land for the establishment of an Aerodrome, Flying School, and Aeroplane terminal station for Western India. Should this project materialize which might have appeared chimerical but a few years ago, but for which the development and scientific progress of the age afford every prospect of success, it will be a pioneer undertaking of its kind in India, will eventually annihilate distance between Karachi and England, to say nothing of Karachi and Delhi, and give an impetus to the development of this City.

The great European War which has been the occasion of such enormous sacrifices of men and money by the British Empire in the

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cause of honour and justice, has brought Karachi into singular prominence by enabling it to render valuable service in the expeditious despatch of troops and supplies. We may here be permitted to echo the wish common to every part of the British Empire that this war will result in the establishment of a lasting peace, the downfall of Prussian militarism, the freedom of weaker nations, and here in India a progressive and peaceful advancement towards the attainment of a status equal to that of the British Colonies.

In the development of Karachi the Municipality necessarily takes a leading part. We have done our best in the past and trust we are fully alive to the potentialities of the future. At our request the Bombay Town Planning Act has been extended to this Municipal District. We have at present in hand the survey of the quarters most amenable to Town Planning with a view to drawing up such plans, and we have already approved of two small schemes of this nature, one for the development of the disused bed of the Lyari River and another for the continuation of the Bunder Road through the Cantonment area to provide adequate means of communication for the development of the North-east District of Karachi; subsequently leading to the removal of a portion of the Cantonment to a new site. This scheme involves an agreement with the military department and we hope the necessary sanction of Government in the military department will speedily be accorded to the first portion of the scheme which is capable of immediate execution. This brings us to the larger question of the development of the city to which the situation of the Cantonment offers an undesirable obstruction. This situation has long been recognised as fatal to the expansion of the city as well as disadvantageous to the Cantonment itself, and we trust to see as early as possible the removal of the Cantonment to a more favourable location. If the second part of the scheme above referred to is carried out, the major portion of the Cantonments will be removed with benefit to all concerned.

Pari passu with the preparation of Town Planning Schemes the Municipality has yearly been spending large sums of money on the acquisition of land for street improvements, notwithstanding the very great increase in the price paid for land.

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We are sorry to observe the entire lack of activity in the past on the part of Government and Local Boards in providing trunk roads, leading out of Karachi. In fact, the proceedings of the last Legislative Council of Bombay have disclosed the lamentable fact that Sind has been very greatly stinted in this respect as compared to the other parts of the Presidency. The lack of good roads leading out of the City has not only been keenly felt by all classes of the population, who are thereby confined to urban limits, but their necessity is so patent for the development of the country, for travel, trade and business of all kinds, particularly in the vicinity of a rising city of the importance of Karachi, that it is all the more surprising that the matter has apparently received no attention from the authorities concerned. We trust the immediate future will witness the expenditure of such large sums of money on these essential works as will in a measure make up for past neglect. Your Excellencies will hardly credit it that even to the kitchen and fruit gardens at Malir, only 15 miles distant, there is, apart from the railway, no proper means of access except by camel or horse-back.

We do not intend to take up Your Excellency's time with a detailed recital of our parochial affairs, but there are some points which we would like to mention.

First, as regards educational grants, notwithstanding the large special grants made by the Imperial and Local Governments in recent years for educational purposes, we regret that this Municipality have not participated in them at all. The peculiar reason for this appears to be that we are already fulfilling our obligations in so far as we give our school masters and mistresses the maximum pay allowable by the Vernacular Masters' Code and a local allowance in addition. We do not consider it a correct policy or that it is the intention of Government that these special grants should be *wholly* enjoyed by Municipalities and Local Boards who in a manner have failed in their duty either through inability, illiberality or other cause. Even the usual grant-in-aid towards primary schools that we do receive from Government whilst it purports to be one-half the cost of primary education, is in reality an amount based on expenditure during a particular year, and fixed for decennial periods, during which our own expenditure on schools is rapidly increasing every year so much so that now it is thrice as much as it was 13 years ago. It is perfectly true that

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since the year 1914 we have been paying full Code pay with local allowance to our primary schools staff because of the higher cost of living in Karachi and the impossibility of otherwise procuring suitable teachers. Probably outside the City of Bombay we are the only local authority in the Presidency that do so. But to withhold Government grants from us for that reason (which should rightly be a reason for giving us larger grants) is to circumscribe our activities in other directions, by preventing us from opening new schools, from constructing our own buildings for our present schools and from extending the accommodation in our existing schools.

This Municipality takes this opportunity of expressing their un-mixed gratification at the Bill recently brought in the Bombay Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel giving Municipalities the power to introduce free and compulsory primary education in their areas, which promises to be an earnest of other similar measures in other Provincial Councils of the country. The diffusion of education which this Bill is intended to inaugurate, is sure to elevate the people to a higher level. All advanced countries have had a system of compulsory education among them, and it is high time that India was brought into line with those countries by the humanizing influences brought about by the education of the masses.

The other point which we would urge on Your Excellency's attention is the necessity for increased facilities for raising loans in the open market, by avoiding the delay which usually takes place between the application for permission to raise loans and the receipt of Government sanction, by removing the restrictions as to the time when loans shall be raised and by extending the period of loans. Hitherto considerable delay, extending in some cases over years, takes place before Government sanction is received to the raising of a loan. When sanction is ultimately received it is laid down that the loan must be raised between certain dates which may be very unfavourable for the flotation of a loan, and which does not give sufficient time for preliminaries. Further, under Government orders the term of loans is restricted to 20 years, and in very exceptional cases to 30 years. In practice, this longer period has been refused to this Municipality although it was

Address of Welcome from Karachi Municipality.

strongly recommended by the Local Government. This delay, restriction and curtailment of the period for redemption, not only hamper the Municipality, detract from the popularity of Municipal loans, and throw upon the present generation an unnecessary burden of expenditure on works, the benefits from which are enjoyed by posterity, but also prevent Municipalities from undertaking necessary works which can only be financed by loans. We feel that specially in the case of permanent works, such as water works, drainage works, public buildings, etc., the period of loans should be increased and that once Government sanction is accorded to the flotation of a loan, the Municipality should be at liberty to choose their own time for placing it on the market within, say, a year from the date of sanction.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that between the preparation and the presentation of this address an important change has been introduced in the constitution of this Municipality, and the Councillors, who now welcome you on behalf of this City, comprise a board of 40 members, of whom $\frac{3}{4}$ ths are elected. We trust in course of time the whole Board will consist of elected Councillors.

In conclusion, we hope Your Excellencies' stay in this City will be pleasant, and that you will be blessed with health and strength to carry out the duties of the high office with which you have been entrusted by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Karachi Municipality,—
Let me first thank you for the warm welcome which you have extended to Lady Chelmsford and myself on our arrival in your city. You mention that I am the eighth Viceroy to visit you in the course of half a century. In that period, thanks to the natural advantages which your city enjoys and to a spirit of enterprise which has never flagged, you have made very remarkable progress.

The growing importance of Karachi, and the strain placed by the exigencies of war upon your municipal organisation, demand a high standard of energy and responsibility

Address of Welcome from Karachi Municipality.

to which I am convinced you will rise equal. You point out that since my predecessor visited your city, the total number of Councillors in your Municipality, and also the number of elected Councillors, have been increased. I congratulate you on the confidence which has been reposed in you and on the success with which your elected President, Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, has discharged the duties of his office. As representative of the Municipalities in Sind on the Legislative Council of this Presidency, he is able to give you the benefit of a wide experience and his career affords a fine example of the high influence which may be attained by those whose main practical interest lies in the affairs of their own city.

Municipal work is a fascinating subject, and you perhaps know that it has a particular fascination for myself. It was the main interest of my early years of public life, and I find that I am inclined still to approach Municipal affairs in the spirit of my first enthusiasm. It is a difficult subject also. It demands a broad outlook combined with close attention to detail: an insight into the problems of the future, together with a close grip on every-day affairs: optimism combined with prudence. The two chief duties of a Municipality may be summed up in two words—*Circumspect-Prospice*—Look ahead but at the same time look around you. I can tell from the address I have just heard that you are mindful of the great possibilities and needs of the future. I may, however, also say that my experience is that the quiet steady work of Ward Members and Members of Committees, which does not often catch the public eye, is the most valuable work of all. The reason is that such work

Address of Welcome from Karachi Municipality.

and especially attention to the interest of the poorest neighbourhoods and classes, is the foundation of municipal work ; and the foundation must be thoroughly sound if it is to bear a great superstructure.

You have rightly made prominent mention of the war in your address. You, as Commissioners of the Karachi Municipality, can help on our common cause by conserving the man-power of Karachi—by seeing that the men who work at the docks and the sailors from the ships, live in surroundings which conduce to efficiency. You will thus add to the war services which you have already rendered.

You refer in your address to the extension to your city of the provisions of the Bombay Town-planning Act and I trust that you will devote yourselves with energy and enthusiasm, before it is too late, to the task of improving the conditions under which some sections of your community live here to-day, in order that the responsibilities you owe to the Karachi of the future may be honourably and satisfactorily discharged. You complain that the natural expansion of your city is cramped by the situation of the Cantonment. The promise given by Lord Hardinge that he would examine this difficult question has been fulfilled but the war has necessarily involved the abandonment of any immediate project for removing the Cantonment. I understand however that there are other areas available for expansion, including the large spaces to the west of the dry bed of the Lyari river which have not yet been utilised and to these I would direct your urgent attention.

I observe that the Government of Bombay have announced their intention of appointing a whole-time Municipal

Address of Welcome from Karachi Municipality.

Commissioner, and that the announcement has met with some opposition. But the variety of subjects and the number of problems with which your address has dealt are very significant of the increasing scope and difficulty of your duties. The intention of the Government of Bombay to place the Municipality of Karachi in this respect on a par with the Municipalities of the large Presidency towns indicates that they recognise the importance of your city and that they desire to give practical assistance to your desire for progress. I am convinced that the innovation so far from proving irksome to you, will in the long run be a source of strength and efficiency.

You mention the restrictions imposed upon the raising of loans. I am not aware of the cases of delay to which you refer, and, while I should be very glad to forward any prudent and possible measures calculated to encourage development, I must remind you that an extension of the period of redemption is permitted subject to the requisite sanction: that in these days of war all the available financial resources of the Empire must be conserved for purposes of urgent national importance: and that, even if the restrictions on your borrowing powers may sometimes seem troublesome, it is a matter of satisfaction that your outstanding debt but little exceeds your annual income.

You refer to the lack of good roads leading out of your city and the backwardness of communications in Sind. I recognise that improvement in this direction is desirable. The subject, however, is one for the Provincial Government to deal with and I am informed that the matter has been represented to the Government of Bombay.

Address of Welcome from Karachi Municipality.

Your desire for more railways and broader gauges and for the concentration of Government offices, are indications of the requirements of vigorous growth with which I fully sympathise. I hope to deal more explicitly with the subject of railway development when meeting the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, and will pass on to the educational topics mentioned in your address since in this sphere of work you have a complaint to make.

I am glad to hear of your educational activities and the treatment which you have accorded to your teaching staff. The complaint to which I have referred is based on the alleged scantiness of the grants-in-aid accorded by Government. I am sure that Government will not be behindhand in seconding your efforts and would only remind you that the calls on their resources are numerous and that, while it is a good maxim to help those who help themselves, there are probably many towns and localities in this Presidency whose needs are no less pressing and whose capabilities for meeting them are inferior to yours and thus demand more immediate assistance. I understand that the reason why no Municipality in Sind has received an educational grant for free building and equipment is because no Municipality in Sind had any scheme ready for submission to Government. This information will perhaps render your efforts to extract money from the Bombay Government more successful.

I am interested to hear that you approve Mr. Patel's Bill for promoting compulsory education, recently introduced into the Bombay Legislative Council, and I shall watch with interest the steps you take to give practical effect to the opinions you have expressed. I would at the same time exhort you, in case you intend to apply for extension of the

Addresses from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Sind Muhammadan Association, and Karachi Port Trust.

provisions of that Bill to Karachi, to make due preparation, especially in the all-important matter of the training of teachers.

In conclusion, I may again refer to a matter which I have already mentioned in a general way, and impress upon you the extreme importance of extending a due share of both educational and hygienic advantages to the less favoured quarters of your city and of doing all in your power to brighten the lives and surroundings of the labouring classes. With the great possibilities of your city and the probable influx of larger numbers of this class, it will well repay you to bestow all possible care on the sanitation of new quarters as they arise and upon the decent housing of the poor.

I thank you again, Gentlemen, for your kind reception and would express my keen appreciation of the opportunity I shall now enjoy of becoming personally acquainted with the city and port of Karachi and with your leading citizens.

ADDRESSES FROM THE KARACHI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
SIND MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION, AND KARACHI
PORT TRUST.

30th October
1917.

[During his stay in Karachi His Excellency the Viceroy received addresses from the above.

The address from the Chamber of Commerce was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, beg to offer to Your Excellency and to Lady Chelmsford a most cordial welcome on the occasion of this your first visit to the Province of Sind.

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

That Your Excellency has been able so early in the period of your viceroyalty to make time personally to inspect the City and Port of Karachi is to us a matter of much gratification. The very great natural advantages which Karachi enjoys, its propinquity on the one hand to the grain-producing lands and to the capitals of Northern India, and on the other hand to the great markets and capitals of Europe (whether the route taken be by sea or by land) cannot have escaped Your Excellency's notice.

No doubt Your Excellency is well aware, too, of the rapid growth of the trade of Karachi, our total exports and imports having practically quadrupled in twenty years. Moreover, there is every reason to expect that this rate of progress will be maintained as soon as the complications and hindrances to trade inevitable in this period of almost universal war are removed.

To enable our trade to expand with reasonable rapidity, however, the active co-operation of Government is essential. In this connection we cannot but feel that Sind and its Capital deserve far more than they have so far received. Your Excellency will better appreciate what we mean when we explain that although this Province and Port depend largely upon the results of canal irrigation, the Sind system of irrigation—namely, by inundation canals—is, in the main, exactly the same as it was in the time of Alexander the Great. The construction of high-level, perennial canals has been advocated for nearly fifty years, and one great project—the Rohri-Hyderabad Canal—has been discussed for over a quarter of a century, but it is still held up pending a final decision as to the site and design of the necessary barrage near Sukkur.

In the same way we venture to point out that certain railway developments affecting this port have proceeded at a far slower pace than the manifest advantages of Karachi's geographical position have warranted. The direct linking of Delhi and Karachi by rail was advocated by this Chamber over twenty years ago whilst the desirability of extending to Karachi the great metre gauge systems of Northern India which terminate at Hyderabad, only a trifle over 100 miles from the sea-board, was repeatedly pressed upon the attention of Government but without the desired result. The Chamber now understand

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

that the linking of Sind and Northern India by metre gauge *vid* Jaisalmer and Bikaner is under consideration, and that a broad gauge route from Karachi to Delhi *vid* Jodhpore (by conversion of certain sections of the existing metre gauge lines) has been decided upon.

With the conclusion of the war the Chamber hope that these Railway and Sind Irrigation Schemes will be carried to completion without further delays. Also that the concentration in Karachi on one central site of the various Public Offices and Courts (regarding which representations from this Chamber have been continuously made for over twenty years) will be taken in hand and completed during the present decade.

The Chamber feel that they cannot press for work to be continued on these various schemes until the King-Emperor's enemies have been finally repulsed, victory won, and the safety and security of the Empire assured. The attention of the Chamber since the outbreak of war has been concentrated on war matters. Suggestions were sent in to Government regarding the control of Indian trade that might benefit the enemy *vid* neutral States. Many Members of the Chamber volunteered for and proceeded on active service in 1914, 1915 and 1916, some of them, alas, never to return; and large sums of money were remitted to England for investment in British War Loans. With the issue of an Indian War Loan and the introduction of the Indian Defence Force Act this year, the mercantile community have again done all in their power to assist Government to continue the struggle. Financial conditions and depleted staffs have adversely affected commercial activities, whilst the great demands made upon Karachi for skilled and unskilled labour in connection with the Mesopotamia Expedition have not eased matters at all.

The Members of this Chamber, however, are ready and anxious to do all in their power to assist Government. We trust that the steps Government are taking will lead to a steady improvement of the financial situation. The Chamber would urge the launching of the second instalment of the Indian War Loan as soon as Government's arrangements can be completed and would strongly advocate that this next issue be made on the Bonus Bond principle. And, lastly, the Chamber would urge that the utmost military use be made of the City

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

and Port of Karachi as a base for oversea operations. Whether harbour and wharf facilities, railway approaches, local resources, or climate be considered, Karachi can offer advantages which the Chamber venture to think have only to be seen and understood to be still more fully appreciated.

We beg, as in duty bound, to subscribe ourselves, on behalf of the Members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

In reply His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the cordial greeting which you have extended to Lady Chelmsford and myself ; and if I may single out one point in your address for special appreciation it is this that, in accordance with what we have learnt to expect of your community, you put the war first and foremost. You have reason to be proud of the part which you have played and are playing in the war. Some of your former associates in this Chamber have proved their patriotism in the field of battle, while you yourselves have been engaged in duties directly connected with the prosecution of the war.

For the last 3 years your city has been to the fore in assisting the military authorities. The Local Corps has done valuable work in connection with port defences ; the number of able-bodied men reported available for general service with the Indian Defence Force does you credit ; the army has been supplied with a large number of workmen, skilled and unskilled ; and the local contribution towards the war loan amounts nearly to a crore of rupees. I am aware also of the activity of the Karachi War League, and of the patriotic work that association has done in keeping the needs created by the war prominently in the public notice. You have brought similar zeal and attention to bear on the handling of supplies

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce

for His Majesty's armies in the field. These activities indicate the spirit which prevails in the city of Karachi, and I have no doubt, Gentlemen, that it is to you and to other public bodies in Karachi that this spirit is in large degree attributable. You have shown that your services will always be at the disposal of His Majesty.

The prosperity of your city is a striking proof of what can be done when brains and capital are used to develop a position of natural advantage, and I see a great future before you. You do well to emphasise what remains to be done rather than what has already been accomplished. That is the spirit of progress.

You have referred in your address to your hope that during the present decade the Government Offices and Courts may be concentrated at one central site. I understand your reasons and sympathise with the object you have in view. The matter is however primarily one for the consideration of the Local Government : but I can assure you that such aspects of the case as may be submitted to the Government of India after the war has been won will receive sympathetic consideration.

On the general subject of irrigation in Sind I hope to say something in my reply to the Sind Muhammadan Association. You state that the Sind system of irrigation—namely, by inundation canals, is, in the main, exactly the same as it was in the time of Alexander the Great. This statement suggests a serious lack of enterprise on the part of the British administration ; but I must point out that it takes no account of the large sums that have been spent by Government during the last 60 years or so on irrigation in Sind. Head regulators

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

have been made to control the entry of the flood water into the canals, the canals themselves have been improved out of all knowledge, the distribution system has been remodelled and extended and in many cases the canals and distribution systems are entirely new and in no sense a relic of bygone days. Embankments have been made to keep the flood water of the river from devastating low-lying lands, and last, but by no means least, you have the modern Jamrao Canal which has brought irrigation to a tract that was previously barren. In my reply to the Sind Muhammadan Association I shall also deal with the question of the effect of the Punjab canals on irrigation in Sind ; but I would here remind you that this city and port owe their present prosperity mainly to the wonderful system of Canal Irrigation which has been built up by Government in the Punjab at a cost of many millions of pounds, and that you may rest satisfied that the policy of developing the agricultural resources of India, hitherto attended with so much success, will be carried through to completion until the available water-supply of the Indus is fully utilised.

I note your remarks on the subject of our future borrowings. We have initiated an issue of Treasury Bills, and we shall give the most careful consideration to the question of the time at which our next regular loan should be floated and also to its amount and character. In regard to "Premium Bond" issues, you may remember that my Hon'ble Colleague Sir William Meyer, in referring to the matter when he met the Committee of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in April last, stated that he had an open mind on the subject, and that he was quite willing to consider the matter in connection with next year's loan. It was recently announced

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

that the Home Government have decided to appoint a Select Committee to enquire into the question of issuing premium bonds or some similar form of Government securities in the United Kingdom, and we can hope from their deliberations to obtain some assistance in considering the problem in India. I might say, however, that the Government of India have consulted expert opinion on the subject and that it has proved for the most part unfavourable.

You invite my attention to certain railway developments which you think have been too long delayed, and you express a hope that they will be carried to completion as soon as may be after the war. In this connection I may point out that by the opening of the last section of the Jodhpur-Bikanir Railway in 1900 Karachi did obtain a very direct railway route to Delhi. What has happened is that as Karachi has gradually drawn to itself more of the trade from the western districts of the United Provinces the capacity of this route has proved inadequate.

The question of providing a more direct broad gauge railway connection between Karachi and Delhi has been under the consideration of Government for some time, and alternative schemes have been put forward to meet the objects which you have in view. The investigation of these schemes is not yet complete, but I may say that my Government are convinced of the necessity of improving the existing means of communication between Karachi and the great business centres of the United Provinces with which your port has developed so considerable a trade and I can promise you that every endeavour will be made to prepare the scheme so that it may be carried out with as little delay as possible after the war.

Address from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

The need of a broad gauge railway connection between Karachi and Bombay *via* Cutch was referred to in the address which I received yesterday from the Municipality. This is a matter which was dealt with in 1911 by Lord Hardinge in replying to an address presented to him by another body. He pointed out then certain difficulties in the alignment, and I am afraid from what I hear that these difficulties still exist. At the same time I am in accord with you in desiring an improvement of railway facilities between Karachi and Bombay, and the matter has not been overlooked. A decision must await the development of the Karachi-Delhi scheme and certain surveys are necessary which will be undertaken as soon as possible, but I have hopes that we shall soon be able to establish a better connection than exists at present between these important centres.

I have little doubt also that the system of metre gauge communications will be improved by the construction of the line through Jaisalmer and Bikanir to which you allude.

I have confined myself to an appreciation of your practical work in the war, and to telling you how my Government hope to help towards the realisation of your equally practical wishes. I will conclude by alluding to one other matter in which you can afford practical help to the Empire. Within a few weeks Mr. Montagu and I will be associated in studying in India large problems concerning the future of India. I ask, in the interests of the Empire, for your loyal co-operation in this study. The subject is one of great difficulty, and must be examined from many points of view. I have one request to make to you. Whatever view you may adopt, see that, in advocating your own view, you make it clear that you understand the views of people who differ from you, and that

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

you appreciate the force and value of their honest convictions. I assure you that in so far as you do this, the greater will be the force of the opinions which you yourselves may advance.

I will not detain you longer, Gentlemen, except to thank you for your cordial welcome to this city which the war is forging into a link of increasing strength and importance in the chain which binds our Empire together.

ADDRESS FROM THE SIND MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION.

30th October
1917.

[The address was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Members of the Sind Muhammadan Association, beg to offer Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a most cordial welcome to the Capital of Sind, on behalf of the Muhammadan Community of this province.

2. We beg respectfully to invite Your Excellency's special attention to the fact that the opening of canals in the Punjab and Bahawalpur State is very adversely affecting the interests of Zamindars in Sind. The said canals draw away a large quantity of water with the result that the supply of water in the lower reaches of the Indus is diminished, which works to the detriment of agriculture in Sind ; the failure of crops being not unfrequently due to this cause. Apart from the loss and hardship which this uncertain supply of water causes to Zamindars, it deprives them of all incentive to improve their lands, as they feel that their efforts in that direction are fruitless unless they are assured of a regular supply of sufficient water. We therefore earnestly pray that Your Excellency will give very careful consideration to this matter which vitally affects the interests of Sind and take such measures as Your Excellency's Government may deem fit to prevent the condition of Zamindars of Sind, going from bad to worse and our Province suffering at the hands of the Punjab by reason of the more favourable geographical situation of the latter at the upper reaches of the Indus.

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

In addition to other measures which may be adopted to bring about the desired result, we respectfully urge that all new works in the Punjab and Bahawalpur State, which are likely to reduce the supply of water in Sind, be held in abeyance until such time as the Sukkur Barrage, to which we shall presently refer, and such other works as will ensure the adequate supply of water in Sind, are constructed.

3. With regard to the Sukkur Barrage Project we beg respectfully to state that works of such magnitude are the only satisfactory ways of profitably utilising the water of the Indus, which on account of its low level in the lower reaches is practically wasted in some places, as it cannot adequately supply the canals. We are aware of the history of the Sukkur Barrage Project and of the various technical difficulties that are in the way. We also realize that Government cannot be expected to undertake such huge works during the war. Nevertheless we beg to suggest that preliminary investigations in the nature of survey and other matters in which we are glad to find Government is at present engaged be pushed with all possible speed, so that after the conclusion of the war no time may be lost in further preliminary matters and the work started without delay. Without going into the technical side of the question, we venture to state that the Sukkur Barrage Project is at once the surest way of increasing and regulating the supply of water and bringing under cultivation large tracts of otherwise waste land.

4. We beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that the lands of Musalman Zemindars in Sind are gradually passing out of their hands in consequence of being sold in execution of decrees of Civil Courts. In spite of the Deccan Relief Act and other Acts which are in force, the condition of Muhammadan Zemindars is growing worse every day. Your Excellency's Government will be laying our community under a deep debt of gratitude if the law is so amended as to stop the sale of lands in execution of decrees of Civil Courts and provision is made for the satisfaction of the claims of creditors from the income of lands by means of easy instalments. This will have the effect of rescuing the simple Zemindars from the clutches of the ruthless money-lender.

5. Dealing with the question of Zemindars of whom by far the largest number belongs to our community, we take this opportunity

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

of tendering our thanks to Government for enhancing the Decennial Settlement of Land Revenue to a Twenty Years Settlement. We hope that Government will see its way to increase the period to thirty years and meet with the wishes of the people in this matter.

6. We have great pleasure in expressing our gratitude to Government for paying due regard to the special circumstances of our community and introducing the system of communal representation in Municipal elections and trust that in fixing the number of members to be returned by the various electorates, Government will be pleased to allot to our community a fairly large number of seats, sufficient to give us an effective and potent voice in Municipal administration.

7. We are also thankful to Government for conferring on District Local Boards the right of electing non-official vice-presidents.

8. The Muslimin of Sind hail with feeling of extreme joy and gratitude the official announcement made by the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India in regard to the legitimate aspirations of His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects and the news of the proposed visit of Mr. Montagu to this country in that connection. With Your Excellency's permission we take this opportunity to assure you that the Muslimin of this Province have implicit confidence in true justice and liberality of the benign British Government as is evidenced by their aloofness from the recent Home Rule League propaganda. This attitude of theirs is based not only on their complete trust in the good intentions of Government but also on the conviction that the concession of the extreme demands put forward by the Home Rule Leaguers would be seriously prejudicial to the interest of the Musalman Community. But if any reforms are introduced we trust that the legitimate interests of our community will be properly safeguarded and our claims for a share of the rights and privileges, commensurate with the importance of our community, will receive full consideration at the hands of the benign Government.

9. We are very glad to state that our community is making steady progress in education ; but it will take a long time to fully recover the ground that was lost while our community was apathetic towards education. While we are grateful for the encouragement which we

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

have received at the hands of Government from time to time, we beg to point out that the higher education of our community is in need of far greater support and encouragement than it receives at present. We are convinced that the progress of our community will be very rapid if efforts are concentrated on higher education because it is by this means alone that we can produce men who will take active interest in the uplift of our community. We therefore pray that Government will be pleased to allot far larger sums of money for scholarships for higher education than at present.

10. We also beg respectfully to point out that the paucity of Muhammadans in the Educational Department of Government is a factor which is seriously hampering the rapid progress of education in our community. We therefore pray that Government will be pleased to appoint as school masters and inspecting officers as many qualified Muhammadans as possible, as by this means they will be enabled to take personal and direct interest in the education of our community.

11. We understand that there is a move to again introduce in the Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay what is known as the Sind Muhammadan Educational Cess Bill, which if passed into law will satisfactorily solve the question of funds which are badly required for the widespread of education in our community. We fully trust that the said bill will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of Your Excellency's Government.

12. We beg leave to bring to Your Excellency's notice that in spite of the advance our community is making in education and of the fact that large numbers are every year qualifying for Government service our community has not yet been able to secure its fair share of appointments under Government. While acknowledging with gratitude that the Local Government is not slow to recognise our just claims for a larger share in Government service, we pray for a more rapid and more extensive recognition of our claims in this matter, as the disparity that now prevails is highly detrimental to the interests of our community.

13. In conclusion we feel great pleasure and true pride in assuring Your Excellency of our deep-seated and abiding loyalty to His

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

Majesty the King-Emperor and pray that his gallant forces may prove triumphant and victorious in the cause of Justice, Liberty and Equality among Nations for which they are fighting.

His Excellency made the following reply :—]

Gentlemen of the Sind Muhammadan Association,—
I thank you for the cordial welcome which you have extended on behalf of the Muhammadan Community in Sind to Lady Chelmsford and myself.

Your Association represents very substantial interests and I am glad to learn from your address that you fully realise the significance of the visit which the Secretary of State is about to pay to India. He and I, as I said to the Chamber of Commerce, desire to hear an expression of all opinions honestly held on the subject of Indian political reform and I press you, as representatives of a numerous and important community, carefully to prepare your case so that you may be in a position to state, definitely and concisely, your views, your hopes, and your fears. Study the problems as a whole, try to understand the point of view from which others regard the same problems, and then put before us your reasoned conclusions.

I will now deal with the first important point to which you invite my attention, namely, the effect of the opening of canals in the Punjab in the interests of the Zamindars in Sind. I cannot help thinking that you draw too gloomy a picture of the state of agriculture here, and I am assured that the condition of the landholders in recent years would compare favourably with any previous period. In any case I cannot accept the conclusion that your province has suffered from the action of Government in regulating the distribution

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

of the water from the rivers of the Punjab. The question of the effect of the Punjab canal system on the supply of water in the River Indus in Sind is one which has been a subject of much study on the part of irrigation engineers. From the researches that have been made there is no indication that this supply has as yet been adversely affected by the opening of new canals in the Punjab, but you may rest assured that this matter, which is of such vital importance to your Province, will be fully considered before any further irrigation schemes in the Punjab dependent on the waters of the Indus system are put in hand. I can also assure you that the investigation into the project for the Sukkur Barrage and its dependant canals will be pursued with the utmost possible vigour.

You ask for an amendment of the law so as to stop the sale of lands in execution of decrees of Civil Courts and to provide for the satisfaction of the claims of creditors from the income of lands by means of easy instalments. This request is based on the statement that the lands of Musalman Zamindars in Sind are gradually passing out of their hands in consequence of being sold in execution of decrees of Civil Courts. I have the greatest sympathy with your desire to keep your ancestral land in the hands of the old proprietary classes ; but I understand that the extent to which the process of alienation is going on is actually very small, and that in fact out of a total occupied area of 8 million acres in Sind only about one thousand acres on an average have been sold annually in recent years in execution of Civil Court decrees. You will, I think, agree with me that these figures hardly support the case for further protective measures, while you yourselves recognise that such measures are already in existence in the

Address from the Sind Muhammadan Association.

shape of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 and the Sind Encumbered Estates' Act of 1896. The former Act empowers the Court to order payment of the decreed amounts by instalments ; and lands are thus only sold in satisfaction of debts after all other expedients for discharging these debts have failed. It seems to me therefore that the law already gives you all the protection that you require and that it rests with your community to maintain their ancestral estates by the practice of thrift and by educating their children to a sense of the responsibility which their position as land-owners imposes upon them.

I trust that the measures taken for ensuring the due representation of various communities on municipal bodies, and the privilege of electing non-official Vice-Presidents to District Local Boards—matters to which you have alluded in your address—will tend to develop a keener interest in matters of local self-government.

I have heard with pleasure the expression of your interest in education and of your anxiety to recover the ground which your community has lost in this sphere. You are well aware of the anxiety of Government to forward the cause of education among any section of the community where special encouragement is required, and I would refer you to the circular issued by the Government of India in April 1913 regarding the education of Muhammadans in which emphasis was laid not only on secondary, but, first and foremost, on primary instruction. I hear that a Committee was appointed by the Government of Bombay specially to enquire into the needs of Muhammadan education in Sind and that it has made its report. The expenditure involved in its recommendations is considerable, and you will be glad to learn that the Government of

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Bombay have recently sanctioned the annual grant of a lakh of rupees as a first instalment for giving effect to them. Half this sum will be for primary and half for secondary education and the scheme includes a generous system of scholarships for leading boys up from the primary school to a university degree. I need hardly say that I regard any desire on the part of the people to tax themselves for purposes of education as worthy of encouragement. Government however are in duty bound to ascertain very fully whether proposals of this nature really commend themselves to the mass of the people concerned; and any scheme of communal taxation raises difficult questions which would have to be very carefully considered.

Your desire to have as many qualified Muhammadans as possible in the ranks of the educational services is a natural and proper one. It is to be hoped that in future members of your community will come forward in larger numbers qualified for work in this field.

Your address concludes with a few words conveying an assurance of your loyalty and a prayer that His Majesty's forces may be victorious in the cause for which they are fighting. I am assured of your loyalty and of your sympathy for the common cause, but I would add that there is still scope for the people of Sind to prove their practical patriotism before the eyes of the rest of India by personal service in the field. I foresee that there will in future inevitably be a tendency throughout India and the Empire to judge communities by the action which they took in this great fight for freedom and I look to you, as representatives of the Muhammadan community in Sind, to stimulate recruitment throughout

Address from the Karachi Port Trust.

your great tract of country with its Muhammadan population of more than two and a half millions. I invite you to emulate the splendid example of the Punjab: to vindicate the manliness of the stock from which you come: and to see to it that the Muhammadans of Sind contribute their full share towards the quota which we expect of the Bombay Presidency. I will mention three of the ways in which you and your families can help to do what is expected of your community. You can yourselves give the lead by volunteering for service and by encouraging your sons to do so: you can encourage others to follow that lead: and, as prominent Zamindars, you can, each in your own neighbourhood, help to ensure that every man who volunteers for service shall do so with the certainty that while he is away you will watch and secure the interests of his family and of his land.

Now, Gentlemen, having asked you for your co-operation in this matter I will not detain you further, except finally to assure you of the sympathy and good will of Government towards the land-holding class, whose interests you have so well represented to-day, and once again to thank you for your friendly welcome.

ADDRESS FROM THE KARACHI PORT TRUST.

30th October
1917.

[The address was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the Chairman and Members of the Board of Trustees of the Port of Karachi, desire to offer you a hearty welcome on this your first visit to the port and our sincere thanks for having consented to inspect the harbour and the subsidiary works connected with our administration.

Address from the Karachi Port Trust.

In the midst of the vast additions to your always heavy labours and responsibilities resulting from the great and glorious share taken by India in the devastating war which has now for more than three years past raged throughout the world, it must have been difficult to spare time for this visit and we fully recognize how fortunate we are that you have been able to do so thus early in the period of your Vice-royalty.

But Your Excellency will, we hope, permit our expression of opinion that this port is now—and more especially since the occurrence of the British occupation of Mesopotamia—geographically and strategically one of enormous importance to the Empire ; while the rapidity of its development in recent years has enabled us, we believe, to adequately respond to the demands upon our resources entailed by its utilization as one of the great bases of supply in India for the various battle fronts.

Consequently we venture to think that your visit is something more than one made in the ordinary course of events and must have been impelled both by a recognition of the importance of the place and by a determination to satisfy yourself at first-hand as to the methods employed and the results attained, and we look forward with gratification to the opportunity afforded us of showing and explaining these and trust to be able to demonstrate that we are in a position to meet any further demands that can reasonably be made upon us now and in the future.

We have recently submitted to Your Excellency a brief sketch of the history of the Port of Karachi from the time when it was first occupied by the British and we feel that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the subject here. We ventured to submit that sketch because we know by experience how difficult it is even for those who have been long resident here to cast their memories back and conjure up before their mental vision the conditions existing but a few short years ago and that it is impossible for any one who has not watched the process of development to realize what has been accomplished without being in possession of full information on the subject.

We may in this connection mention that one of our number, the writer of that sketch, arrived in Karachi at a time when its harbour

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consisted only of an anchorage for small ocean-going steamers and local craft. There were then no berths, piers, wharves, railway, yards, plinths, warehouses, or any of the present-day appliances except the "Native Jetty" which has since been greatly enlarged. The break-water was then under construction. Access from ship to shore was obtainable only by means of Indian boats landing at a tiny wooden pier where baggage was examined by the Customs Department.

Your illustrious predecessor, Lord Hardinge, first visited Karachi in April 1911, and honoured us by opening the fine bridge that bears his name over which you will drive on your way to the Harbour.

We were then privileged to explain to him the progress made up to that time and we will therefore now say nothing regarding works completed prior to his visit, but merely venture to briefly enumerate the more important of those since carried out, all of which, we hope, you will see.

The New Mansfield Import Yard has been completed and fully equipped with warehouses, railway, etc., as to its first stage, but our schemes allow for large future extension. The cost so far has been over thirty-seven and a half lakhs.

The New Export Yard, now called the "Thole Produce Yard," has been completed and has proved of the greatest value during the war, the cost including the construction of the Queen's Road, along the Chinna Creek, was also over thirty-seven and a half lakhs.

A fine road bridge, abolishing a level crossing the cause of great inconvenience and complaint, has been built at the cost of the Port Trust ($\frac{2}{3}$) and North-Western Railway ($\frac{1}{3}$) on the Scandal Point Road. This cost over two and a half lakhs.

The old railway bridge across the Chinna Creek to the south of the road bridge has been dismantled and a new one built by the Port Trust ($\frac{1}{2}$) and the North-Western Railway ($\frac{1}{2}$) at a cost of seven and a half lakhs. This bridge has done away with the necessity for two level crossings on the Queen's, and Napier Mole, Road.

New Port Trust Offices have been constructed at a cost of over nine and a quarter lakhs. These were opened by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, on the 5th January 1916, the

Address from the Karachi Port Trust.

Board held their first meeting therein on the 12th January 1916, and on the 7th February 1916 the buildings were handed over for use as a General Hospital accommodating over five hundred beds.

Three of our ^{five}warehouses in the New Mansfield Import Yard, we may observe, have also recently been handed over for the same purpose and accommodate over twelve hundred beds.

"Willington Place," Keamari, opened by His Excellency Lord Willington, Governor of Bombay, on the 30th January 1914, has been reclaimed and laid out in suitable building blocks and the main roads constructed, but up to the present, owing to war conditions, only one of these has been taken up and built upon by an enterprising tenant. The fine buildings erected have proved useful for military requirements even before completion. The road bridge across the Chinna Creek has been widened from forty to seventy feet at a cost of over three-and-a-quarter lakhs; and we may add that the Municipality of Karachi have widened the road from that bridge to Keamari to the same extent.

The "Sydenham" Passenger Pavilion was opened by His Excellency Lord Sydenham, Governor of Bombay, in January 1913, and was built at a cost of over half a lakh. This is the main entrance to the Port. Since it was built our views have expanded and we hope in due course to replace it by a building more worthy of the name it bears.

Many other minor works have been constructed which we must not detail here and the position now is that with nineteen ship berths and twenty moorings for ocean-going steamers, the improvement scheme for the eastern side of the channel has been practically completed. We have now commenced the West Wharfage Scheme having had constructed for us a fine suction dredger at a cost of over ninety-six thousand pounds, which came out in sections, was reconstructed at Manora, launched in August 1914, and has so far reclaimed over ~~thirty-~~ ^{thirty-}two acres most of which we have lent to Government for use as a ~~ship~~ building yard in connection with the Mesopotamia Campaign.

The estimates for this West Wharfage Scheme have been approved by Government. They amount to over two hundred and seventy one lakhs and provide for an increase to twelve hundred feet in the width

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of the channel and ultimately sixteen berths for ocean-going steamers, drawing loaded up to thirty-two feet at any state of the tide. It is proposed to construct six berths as a commencement at a cost of over one hundred and forty-eight lakhs. Connected with this is the Lower Harbour Improvement Scheme estimated to cost over twenty-five lakhs, and the provision of a dry dock for which detailed estimates have not been prepared, though it may be roughly expected to cost about forty lakhs. In connection with this scheme the possibility, if not probability, that the time is approaching when the trade will demand the introduction of the elevator system for grain, has not been overlooked. The Port Trust will be prepared to meet that demand when it comes as regards the erection of terminal elevators at the port, and, no doubt, the Governments concerned and the North Western Railway will be prepared to do their share as regards the provision of subsidiary elevators and suitable rolling stock.

Financially we have, on the whole, not been unfortunate during the war, though the import trade has fallen off enormously. Without entering into details we may say that heavy exports have saved us from difficulties.

Our Revenue in 1916-17 was Rs. 46,66,847, Expenditure Rs. 39,93,710, Surplus Rs. 6,73,137, and we had not to fall back upon our Reserve Fund which now amounts to Rs. 45,00,000.

As must inevitably happen in administering the affairs of a great port, we have from time to time found ourselves not exactly in agreement, as to the point of view to be taken, with Government in the Military and other Departments, and as to certain matters correspondence is going on, but we do not consider it necessary to trouble Your Excellency with any details of cases which will, no doubt in due course, be amicably and equitably settled. It has been our constant aim, especially as regards the arrangements in our hands in connection with military work at the wharves, from the time the Port Improvement Scheme was taken in hand to do all in our power to make complete, comfortable and expeditious provision, and we believe that Your Excellency will find that the military authorities and the mercantile community fully admit that this has been the case and appreciate the results.

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Your Excellency, we have no grievances to bring to your notice. The long delays which occurred before the new Customs House was commenced, are things of the past; and, judging from the progress made, we now confidently expect that the building will soon be completed.

We have striven for this in season and out of season, feeling it not only to our interest, but our duty to do so. When the war is over and normal conditions return, the convenience to the public of having the Customs and the concentrated Port Trust offices in adjoining buildings will be very great.

We have no doubt that the desirability of the conversion of the Jodhpur-Bikanir State Railway to broad gauge, and the consequent linking up of Karachi and Delhi on that gauge, thereby abolishing the present expensive and dilatory break of gauge at Hyderabad, has engaged Your Excellency's attention and will be carried out in due course, but we feel no doubt that this desirable consummation will be very prominently brought to your notice by the mercantile interests concerned and, therefore, need only be alluded to by us.

We are, of course, of opinion that there should be a direct Mail service from Europe to Karachi; Karachi is, by a little under two hundred miles, the nearest great Indian Port to Aden and consequently to Europe and lies closer to Basra than any other Indian Port by almost five hundred miles. We think that matters were shaping, slowly, no doubt, but surely, in accordance with our desires, and we presume those of all Northern India, before War broke out, and we feel confident that one result of the changed conditions induced thereby will be to bring appreciably nearer the realization of those desires.

The determination of the Peninsular and Oriental and other lines to run experimental passenger vessels to Karachi direct, which had been arrived at, and was being provided for by us when the storm broke, indicates, we think, the feeling on the subject in shipping circles.

Your Excellency, we ask your pardon for trespassing so long upon your time. We regret extremely that owing to war conditions we have at this moment no work in hand with which we could ask you to allow us to associate your name, but we confidently look forward to the

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happier times to come when Great Britain and her Allies will have successfully and completely vindicated the rights of mankind against the barbarous hordes of the Central Powers and their blood-stained treacherous rulers. Then we trust, the world at peace, you will visit us again and grant us the privilege we shall assuredly ask for.

His Excellency in reply spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen of the Karachi Port Trust,—It would have been a great disappointment to Lady Chelmsford and myself if anything had prevented us from visiting this port to which you have so kindly welcomed us. I have ~~been~~ able even at a distance to appreciate the value of the work which is being done here in supplying the needs of the Army in Mesopotamia and on other fronts, and in shipping to England foodstuffs, by the curtailment of which His Majesty's enemies had vainly hoped to force upon us a premature peace, and I may say that it is because I wished to see your work with my own eyes that I am paying you this visit.

Your remarks about the geographical importance of the port of Karachi are in no way exaggerated and it has been fortunate that an economical and far-sighted administration, greatly aided, I am assured, by the ripe experience of your Chairman, Mr. Mules, has placed you in a position to be of such considerable service to the Empire.

You have, I am aware, had your difficulties. The demands of the war have disclosed, what is probably your weakest point, namely, the deficiency of labour for the docks. This no doubt was partly due to the necessities of Mesopotamia, for it has been impossible to check the depletion of the labour supply normally available for your port, although steps have been taken by Government to prevent

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the diversion of trained men. Partly too the shortage has been accentuated by the change in the arrangements for your supplies of coal which has come about through the lack of shipping and the consequent transport of coal to your port by land instead of by sea.

There must also have been occasions when the pressure of military transport, combined with the heavy shipments of grain to Europe, caused you to regret that it had not been possible at an earlier date to proceed with the expansion scheme of which you have given me an interesting account, and which was to have been the crown of your policy of improvement. These difficulties have, I understand, been overcome, so far as is possible in the present circumstances, but any recommendations which you may make for an improvement in the rate of handling vessels and for securing the maximum efficiency of the port in its war service, will receive the fullest consideration.

I am glad to acknowledge the readiness with which you have placed the facilities of the port at the disposal of the authorities. The new offices of the Port Trust had to be utilised as a hospital almost immediately after their completion; the Lynn yard has been loaned as a base supply dépôt; and you have provided a site for river craft construction, a most useful undertaking which may perhaps be the forerunner of a more extended shipbuilding industry. The work of the harbour has none the less proceeded smoothly owing to the spirit of co-operation and goodwill which has prevailed between you and the military authorities. You have thus been largely responsible for your city's fine record of war service which has won the admiration of us all.

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You tell me that you have no grievances to bring to my notice and although there are inevitably certain questions still outstanding for adjustment, it is evident that you are ready to assist in securing their amicable solution. You are more fortunate than other port administrations in India in being able to maintain a strong financial position. I see that your collections for the month of August constitute a record for the port but I would remind you that for this you are indebted largely to the operations of Government. These are on a scale which bear eloquent testimony to the strategical importance of the position occupied by your port.

As regards the future you have mentioned certain problems of some complexity. The introduction of a grain elevator system may prove a measure with very far reaching consequences and the subject requires far more exhaustive investigation than can be taken in hand at the present time, but I note with satisfaction your readiness to co-operate with Government and with the railways.

The Secretary of State was addressed in 1915 on the proposal to establish a mid-weekly mail service between London and Karachi in addition to the service between London and Bombay. You will recognise, however, that the present shipping situation and the uncertainty of shipping conditions after the war make it imperative to postpone the consideration of this proposal for the present. You can rest assured that when the questions are again examined full weight will be given to the advantages of your port as the shortest line of communication with northern India.

In conclusion let me thank you for the welcome contained in your address. I look forward with pleasure to my inspection of your Harbour to which you have invited me.

CHIEFS' CONFERENCE, DELHI.

[The Second Conference opened at Delhi on the 5th November in the Legislative Council Chamber. About 49 Princes and Chiefs were present, and there was a large number of visitors in the gallery. 5th November 1917.]

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Conference said :—]

Your Highnesses,—I welcome you once more to this Council Chamber in which we meet for the second time to discuss in a friendly and informal manner certain matters as to which the Government of India would be glad to learn your views and to enlist your co-operation. I am glad to find that the Conference has not lost its popularity, and that the number of members attending exceeds that of last year. This shows, I think, that Your Highnesses realise the advantage of such meetings, not only as giving an opportunity for bringing your views before the Government of India, but also as drawing you into touch with larger issues affecting the welfare of your States and of India generally. Some of you, I know, contemplate the early establishment of some constitutional assemblage of the nature (to use the words of Your Highnesses' address last year) of a "Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined powers." That, Your Highnesses, is an ideal which you may well place before yourselves, but which must, I fear, wait for its realisation until further experience indicates the lines on which these informal Conferences may most appropriately be developed in the joint interests of yourselves and of the Empire at large. In the speeches which I delivered at the last Conference I made it clear that its function was to advise the Government of India on certain specific matters concerning yourselves, your States and your people, and I urged that you should give time for development and growth before giving to this assemblage

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a formal shape in which its functions and powers would be strictly defined. My view was, and is, that, if an institution

to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India, it must evolve gradually on the lines which experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth. I am strengthened in this view by what has happened during the past year. You all know of the notable development in regard to the Imperial Conference; how in 30 years from being an assemblage of Colonial Premiers presided over by the Colonial Secretary, it has now, through gradual stages of growth dictated by the needs of the time, become a body representing the whole Empire, including India and the Indian States, and presided over by the Prime Minister. You know, too, how the Indian representatives, including your own able and distinguished representative, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, were admitted to the innermost Councils of the Imperial War Cabinet, and so were in a position to exercise a voice in shaping the policy of the British Empire. Could any more convincing example be found of the advantage of proceeding slowly along the road of natural evolution in preference to building up on paper an artificial structure, which after its completion, may be found altogether unsuited and unadaptable to the needs which it is intended to supply? I say then, once more, let us continue these Conferences in their present informal shape—and I can assure you that for my part I wish them to continue annually during my tenure of office,—and let us carefully and patiently watch the ~~course~~ course of events. The constitution of India, as you will have realised from a recent pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State, is itself destined to change, as time goes on, in harmony with the higher political education of the Indian people and their natural aspirations for a greater share in the administration of this country.

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To turn to a question of even wider and more pressing interest I cannot let this occasion pass without thanking Your Highnesses once more for the most generous and loyal support which you have given towards the prosecution of the great war. Since I last addressed you in this Chamber, I have called on you for greater efforts in two directions : first, in the matter of providing adequate reserves for the maintenance at full strength of your Imperial Service Troops, which are doing such admirable work on active service at the various theatres of the war ; and, secondly, in the matter of raising recruits in your territories for the fighting forces and auxiliary services connected with the Army. In both cases, I received from Your Highnesses a most gratifying response to my appeal.

As regards the Imperial Service Troops, all the Durbars concerned have given generous concessions for the period of the war, including increases of pay and pension, the grant of *bhatta*, money rewards to recruits on enlistment and special terms of land revenue to the families of men on service. These concessions have been very effective in stimulating recruiting and in most cases the depôts of the Imperial Service Troops have, I am glad to learn, been brought up to the required strength, and arrangements made to secure a steady flow of reserves for the future.

In addition to these measures, certain States have decided to increase the strengths of their Imperial Service units for the period of the war. Thus, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has recently added a complete new battalion of infantry, while the Kapurthala and Bahawalpur Durbars have both increased their units by the strength of a double company. Last, but not least, His Highness the Maharaja

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of Patiala has most generously offered to equip and maintain a Camel Transport and two Mule Transport Corps in the Indian Army for the same period.

As regards recruiting for the regular Army, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner and Patiala have given valuable advice and assistance to the Central Recruiting Board which has been constituted to co-ordinate the efforts which have become necessary both for the formation of new regiments and to maintain existing units, combatant and non-combatant, at their full strength. I have appealed to Your Highnesses, and I am sure that my appeal will not be in vain, to do your utmost to encourage your subjects to come forward at this momentous juncture. The question of the supply of man-power is vital, and I know that I can count on you not to slacken your efforts to obtain recruits until victory has been finally achieved.

Before we deal with the agenda on the paper, I should like to refer to two important questions which were discussed at the last Conference. The first of these is the question of the principles to be observed during minority administrations in your States. Your Highnesses will have received before this a copy of the Resolution which my Government have recorded on the subject. The Resolution follows in the main the memorandum circulated by Lord Hardinge's Government, as amplified by the Resolutions which Your Highnesses adopted at the last Conference. There are, however, a few points of difference, regarding which it seems desirable that I should give some explanation. In the first place, you will notice that, in the opening clause of the preamble, we have stated that the Resolution carries with it the authority of His Majesty's Government. This places our pronouncement on

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a solid and permanent footing, more appropriate in the case of an important declaration of policy than an informal communication made to individual Princes. I trust that this alteration of form will commend itself to Your Highnesses. Again, in the final paragraph of the preamble, we have made it plain that, while we are prepared to give due weight to wishes expressed by individual Rulers regarding the principles which they desire to be adopted in the case of their own States, we reserve to ourselves full freedom of action in dealing with such representations. The necessity for making this reservation will, I think, be recognised by Your Highnesses, seeing that human nature is fallible, and that there are some requests with which the Government of India would obviously find it impossible to comply with due regard to their responsibilities.

To turn now to the *principles*. Clause (1), regarding the form of administration of the State during a minority, follows Your Highnesses' Resolution almost *verbatim* and the modifications are purely matters of drafting. In clause (12), regarding permanent or long-term commercial concessions or monopolies, we have added to the original memorandum a warning that the rule prohibiting the grant of such concessions during a minority should be applied with caution with regard to the best interests of the State concerned, in order that the development of important and valuable industries may not be hindered. I think that Your Highnesses will readily admit that such a caution is very desirable. Finally, in clause (17) we have defined broadly the position of our Political Officers in regard to these principles. The wording of the clause is intentionally vague in order to provide for the case of backward States, where some considerable degree of supervision may be necessary in the interests of the Durbar. For the

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rest, the definition of the Political Officer's position as being "answerable to the Government of India for the maintenance of these principles," coincides closely with your Resolution which recognises that, if the Government of India are to be in reality the trustees and guardians of the interests of your States during a minority, it is most necessary that their representative, resident in the State, should assist them in discharging that responsibility.

Before leaving this subject, I should like to congratulate Your Highnesses on having co-operated with us in producing a really useful piece of constructive work, which should be of great value both to the Government of India and to your States. Our acknowledgments are specially due to Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia, the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner, who, when serving on the Committee assembled by Lord Hardinge in February 1916, drew the outlines of the finished product now in your hands.

Another important question which was the subject of lively debate during last year's proceedings was that of the recognition of successions in the Native States and of the ceremonial to be observed at installations and investitures. Your Highnesses will remember that in the original draft memorandum which was placed before you for your criticism and advice, it was mentioned, as an introductory statement to the proposed instructions regarding ceremonial, that "every succession requires the approval and sanction of Government." Your Highnesses took exception to that statement and held the view that succession takes place immediately as a matter of inherent right, and is not dependent on the approval or recognition of the Government of India. At the

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same time you admitted that the British Government has the authority of approval and recognition in cases of disputed succession. Now, in recording these views, Your Highnesses did not in any sense wish to dispute the paramountcy of His Majesty the King-Emperor in relation to your States, on whose loyal co-operation His Majesty's Government have always been able to rely. In fact, you accept it in the fullest manner. It is clear also that the formal recognition of a new Ruler is, in all cases, a necessary concomitant of the act of succession, since the position of a Ruling Prince who is not recognised by the King-Emperor would clearly be impossible. The point to which you took special exception was the unqualified statement in the memorandum that all successions require the sanction and approval of the Government, no reservation being made of the succession of a direct natural heir, in regard to whose legitimacy or right to succeed no reasonable doubt exists. If I interpret your views correctly, you apprehended that the statement which I have quoted, if left unquestioned, would in some degree cast doubt on the inherent right of the natural heir to succeed. Now, I have no wish to disguise the fact that the statement made in the memorandum was in some respects defective. The function of the Paramount Power is more properly described by the words "recognition and confirmation" than the words "approval and sanction," and it is the former phrase which has commonly been used in the past. Moreover, in the case of the succession of a direct natural heir, such recognition is purely formal, and the obligation on the part of the new Ruler to obtain it in no way impairs his inherent right to succeed. This point has been made clear in the revised memorandum which has been approved by His

Majesty's Government and which now lies before you. The memorandum, as revised, states that, "where there is a natural heir in the direct line, he succeeds as a matter of course," and I trust that this definite statement, which is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, will remove entirely the apprehensions to which I have alluded. To prevent any misunderstanding, however, I should make it clear to you, *first*, that recognition by the King-Emperor is necessary in all cases; and, *secondly*, that the formula used in the memorandum is not of course intended to apply to the very rare case of a wholly unsuitable heir whom the Paramount Power would be compelled to depose immediately after succession.

You may ask what is meant by a "wholly unsuitable heir." My answer is, an heir who by disloyal or criminal conduct has shown himself to be unfitted to rule. The enquiry into such conduct would ordinarily be undertaken during the lifetime of the previous Ruler, and the unfitness of the heir, if established, would be explicitly declared. You may therefore rest assured that, in the absence of such declaration (which, we may hope, may never prove to be necessary), your legitimate heirs in the direct line will succeed to the Rulership as a matter of course. The memorandum, you will observe, makes no mention of the case of an heir who is of unsound mind, and I do not propose to refer to such cases beyond saying that the Government of India have no intention of debarring the succession of such persons, unless, *first*, their insanity has been certified by thoroughly competent medical opinion; and, *secondly*, the exclusion of such an individual from succession would be in accordance with the law or custom of the particular State.

I may now pass on to the matter of ceremonial. Here you will notice that we have made important concessions to the sentiments expressed by Your Highnesses at the last Conference. We have provided that in the case of direct successions recognition will be conveyed by an exchange of complimentary *Kharitas* between the new Prince and the Viceroy or other high authority concerned, and that the *Kharita* from the latter will be presented by a representative of the British Government at a formal visit. I trust that this modification of the practice which has generally obtained for so many years will be found agreeable to Your Highnesses.

We have further provided that, in the case of Durbars held for the purpose of announcing recognition of a succession, or of announcing the termination of a minority and the investiture of a Prince or Chief with ruling powers, the Durbar will be considered as held by the Prince or Chief, the representative of the British Government sitting at his right hand. In this matter, too, we have been guided by the strong wishes expressed by Your Highnesses, and I think that I may confidently predict that the modification will meet with your approval.

The remaining items in the memorandum call for no special mention, and I would only appeal to Your Highnesses to believe that in framing its terms we have been actuated by an earnest desire to model our procedure on the lines best calculated to meet the sentiments which you have expressed and to maintain to the full the honour and dignity of your Houses.

Your Highnesses will be interested to hear of another recent decision of the Government of India, which affects the comfort of those of you who are accustomed to pay occasional

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visits to places in British India. Hitherto it has been thought necessary in the interests of yourselves and of the various local authorities in British India that, before paying such visits, you should obtain the previous consent of the Local Government concerned. The fulfilment of this requirement has, I understand, in some cases proved irksome in practice and we have now arranged, in consultation with Local Governments, to restrict the obligation to the case of visits to places, such as hill stations, where accommodation is limited or where special local conditions render it necessary to maintain the rule. In all other cases, all that is required is that previous intimation should be given, as a matter of courtesy, to the Local Government concerned, and even this intimation will not be expected in the case of casual visits where no prolonged stay is contemplated and where no house is engaged. We have published a Resolution to this effect, a copy of which you will find before you. I trust that this modification of the previous rule will conduce to Your Highnesses' comfort and convenience, and I feel confident that Your Highnesses will courteously help Local Governments by giving timely intimation of your projected visits. I need not assure you that we welcome every opportunity of meeting you whether in your own States or in British India and the stipulations made in the Resolution are made purely as a matter of mutual convenience.

I now come to the agenda for the present Conference, a list of which, with explanatory memoranda, has been supplied to Your Highnesses. You will observe that the list contains no items of a political character likely to lead to controversial discussion, and this will perhaps be recognised as an advantage. It includes, however, questions such as

the development of agriculture and horse-breeding operations in your States, the discussion of which, if it leads to improvement in those directions, will have a most important bearing on the prosperity of your States and the well-being of your people, and also the development of the resources of the Indian Empire. On these questions and on that relating to the improvement of agricultural and other statistics, I would propose that Your Highnesses should have a brief discussion in full Conference, followed by further individual consultations with the expert officers of my Government who have come to Delhi for the purpose. After those consultations Your Highnesses may be in a position to put forward some useful general suggestions.

The question of allowing the diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges to be given to successful students from the Rajkumar College, Raipur, should not, I think, entail more than a brief discussion, since I apprehend that Your Highnesses will readily approve the extension to the Raipur College of the privileges enjoyed by the existing Chiefs' Colleges, which have done such notable service in training young men of princely and aristocratic families for their duties in life.

Then, there is the question of adopting some general rule for settling the precedence, *inter se*, for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different Provinces or Administrations. This at first sight appears to be a matter which might lead to discussion of an embarrassing character but I trust that, if Your Highnesses confine yourselves strictly to the terms of the reference, it should be possible by the exercise of mutual forbearance and goodwill to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

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The last item on the paper, which has been added since the agenda were originally circulated, relates to the provision of additional identification marks for motor cars belonging to Ruling Princes and Chiefs which are brought into British India. Alternative suggestions have been put forward for meeting the difficulty, the solution of which I think I may safely leave to your ingenuity.

You will notice that the list of agenda does not include a discussion on the rules which have been tentatively adopted for regulating the procedure of these Conferences. The reason for this omission is that the rules have already been seen by a number of those now present, some of whom have made most helpful suggestions and criticisms. I shall, however, raise no objection whatever to further collective discussion of this subject should any of the members of this Conference so desire.

I would now propose, unless Your Highnesses have any general observations to make, to proceed with the discussion of item 1 of the agenda.

[In reply to His Excellency's address His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, on behalf of the Princes and Chiefs, said :—

Your Excellency,—We offer our grateful thanks to Your Excellency for welcoming us again to this conference, where we meet for the second time during your Viceroyalty. Your Excellency has rightly observed that the Conference has not lost its popularity with the Ruling Princes of India, as is evidenced by the increased number of the members who have come to Delhi for the purpose. The Foreign Office list shows that there are 49 Ruling Princes and Chiefs, including His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim from the very borders of the Indian Empire, attending the conference this year, as against 41 who attended last year. This gratifying feature, in

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spite of the fact that the agenda are not so important as that of last year, clearly shows the great importance which we attach to these meetings.

We hope to address Your Excellency at greater length on the concluding day, and so we will not take up any further time to-day.]

CHIEFS' CONFERENCE.

Banquet at Delhi.

[The Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled at Delhi gave a banquet 8th November 1917. on the night of the 8th November which was a most brilliant function and at which His Excellency the Viceroy presided, in honour of Sir James Meston, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha. Covers were laid for 344 guests who included Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir William Meyer, Sir Claude Hill, Sir William Vincent, Mr. G. R. Lowndes, Sir George Barnes, Sir James DuBoulay, Mr. and Mrs. Hailey, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Sir Edward and Lady MacLagan, Lieutenant-General Altham, Mr. and Mrs. Fell, Sir Reginald and Lady Gamble, General Grimston, Mr. and Mrs. Howard, Mr. and Mrs. Mant, Mr. and Mrs. Maffey, Sir William and Lady Maxwell, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Manners Smith, Mr. F. C. Rose, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Wood, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Grant, Brigadier-General and Mrs. Rose, Mr. H. Sharp, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Austen-Smith, Mr. J. Mackenna, Major and Mrs. Mackenzie, Major-General Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. Windham, Major and Mrs. Pye, Captain Wickham, Brigadier-General Vaughan, Brigadier-General Scott, Mr. A. P. Muddiman and Mr. D. S. Hadow.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Navangar, in explaining the object of the banquet, said:—

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It will be in the fitness of things were I to request Your Excellency's indulgence for a few minutes for the purpose of explaining very briefly

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the reason of this function, which sets the seal of our unanimous approbation and approval on the magnificent services rendered by the distinguished guests of this evening under circumstances of singular novelty, delicacy and seriousness. India was never accorded a place in the inner councils of the Empire and the Imperial conferences of the past, conferences which deliberated without her, on various matters, in an atmosphere of security and peace, which for the British Empire was never seriously disturbed since the Battle of Waterloo. The call in our case came at a period of unprecedented difficulty and stress, and India suddenly found herself within the doors hitherto barred and called upon to share the responsibilities of momentous consultations equally with the Ministers of the Crown and of the Overseas Dominions. They were no light duties that descended on the shoulders of the delegates of India, and it is our proud and pleasurable privilege to extend to them the heartiest welcome on behalf of the people of India and its Princes—and may I add, also of our Government, whose illustrious head is presiding to-night—on their return after distinguished services, patriotically undertaken in spite of the perils of the deep and discomforts of the voyage and performed to the eminent satisfaction of all concerned. In this connection we ought to tender our united thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his unique choice of the colleagues of Mr. Chamberlain. We must also take this opportunity of expressing our deep obligations to the British Cabinet and to the Overseas Ministers for their warm help and reception of our guests of to-night as comrades and brothers in the common cause.

It was due to ourselves no less than to our honoured guests that after the high and varied honours that were showered upon them in England by historic cities, great boroughs and famous universities, they should not find their home coming barren of loving appreciation by those for whom they laboured, and the reception that we in a small way are able to accord them to-day represents the grateful feelings, I hope, not only of our order but of the whole of India. That we should have undertaken this delightful and necessary task is due to two facts. We are a more compact body, and thus can bring together voluntarily the various parts of this vast Empire more effectively perhaps than any

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other assemblage of men could do in this country, and we owe to His Excellency, our chairman, that we are convened in the annual conference in Delhi, and a suitable opportunity is thus given us for united action as regards this function. Further it was our concern that there should be no room for an impression abroad that the prestige and consideration secured to Indian representation at the Imperial Conference and the goodwill of the Ministers of the British Cabinet as well as of the Overseas Dominions and the Crown Colonies gained by our guests, were assets on which we set no value, that their labours failed of recognition at the hands of the Indian public. Our task was rendered easy by His Excellency the Viceroy graciously consenting to preside at to-day's function and to this circumstance I must attribute the principal measure of whatever success it may have achieved.

Regarding the eminent work of our honoured guests I will not say much. That would be anticipating and marring what we would listen to from far more capable and talented friends and speakers, but I beg to be allowed to quote from a letter that I have received from a most distinguished Indian, high in public estimation and equally esteemed by Government, whose appreciation represents a correct water mark of the public estimate of our guests and their work, and in this opinion I cordially concur:—‘I am in receipt of your most kind letter dated 8th instant, inviting me to the banquet, to be given in Delhi on November 8th next to our three most distinguished delegates who represented India on the last Imperial Conference, and who acquitted themselves with such marked ability and statesmanship to the immense satisfaction of the Princes and the people of this country. All the three are my most valued friends, though the Maharaja of Bikaner has been the youngest. Sir James Meston is such a great personal friend of mine for years together, that we are in regular correspondence with each other for the last ten years, exchanging many views on grave topics, and my esteem for his abilities and other qualities is great indeed. As for Sir S. P. Sinha, it is superfluous to say aught. He is a jewel among the few Indians who carry a head on their shoulders, thoroughly understands the situation, is besides a tower of strength and a great influence and personality in the direction of sobriety of thought. I wish we had half a dozen Sinhas at this eventful juncture. Lastly,

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though I have only recently come into contact with your excellent brother of Bikaner, I have been thoroughly impressed with his sterling qualities of independence, courage and political sagacity, not only as a prince but as a patriotic Indian. More I need not say. You will thus see in what esteem and regard I hold this distinguished trio.'

I will not take up Your Excellency's time by reading letters or telegrams from Their Highnesses of Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Travancore, Bharatpur, Rampur, Benares, Jhind, Bhavnagar, Cochin, Janjira and Radhanpur, who have not been able to attend, but whose appreciation, you may take it from me, of the services rendered by our guests, has been extremely warm and generous. They have expressed warm sympathy and most of them even association with the present movement.

I regret that we could not have the honour, as was once expected, of numbering among our honoured guests to-day the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, whose official connection with India, signalised by an epoch-making declaration of policy, is so full of promise for her advancement, and whose arrival is an earnest—let us hope—of future happiness and contentment to India and her people. It is natural that such hopes are built and aspired under such a sympathetic viceregency as that of our distinguished Chairman, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, through whose statesmanlike initiative, it is only right to observe, this new policy was declared and the forthcoming visit of the Secretary of State has materialised.

I now proceed to say a few words regarding the souvenirs. We had hoped that the presentation of them should take place on this occasion at the hands of the King's viceregent but with the general desire favouring an article of pure Indian design and workmanship, it was difficult to select and get ready in time such mementoes as would be generally approved. On behalf of ourselves, the reception committee presided over by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, through whose original suggestion this function has come into being, has now decided to present gold cups of the design laid on the table. They will be sent to our honoured guests as soon as they are ready. We hope they will be accepted and preserved as a small token of the affectionate and admiring regard of India's Ruling Princes and

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Houses for the eminent and distinguished statesmanship which our delegates brought to the service of the country, at a moment of great national significance in the history of the Empire of India, as a component part of that Empire.

Before concluding as Secretary, I tender my very grateful acknowledgments to my hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Hailey, for their very kind assistance, readily rendered, without which we could not have carried out this undertaking with any degree of our present success. It was difficult, as may be readily imagined, to get up this function from a remote corner of Kathiawad, with catering and printing arrangements in the hands of Bombay agencies and the site in Delhi, without the great help which I have received not only from my friend, the Chief Commissioner, but also from the Honorable Mr. J. B. Wood, Colonel Verney, Colonel Berthon, Captain Wickham, and other officials, in the Government P. W. Department, with whom we came in direct contact owing to this function.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior in proposing the Viceroy's health said :—

Your Excellencies, Ladies, Your Highnesses, Sir James Meston and Gentlemen,—I think that the pleasantest of duties has fallen to my lot this evening, and I am particularly grateful to my brother Princes for calling upon me to propose the health of His Excellency the Viceroy. I am sure that both the dignity and felicity of the occasion have been greatly enhanced by the presence of Her Excellency here amongst us, and we are all extremely happy that she consented to lend grace to this function. I am sure that I am voicing the feeling of my brother Princes when I say that we rejoice at Your Excellency's assurance that this Conference will continue to meet annually, at any rate during the tenure of Your Excellency's viceroyalty. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that it will be made into a fixture, until such time as the experience gained from its repeated sittings justifies cautious statesmanship in taking a further step, and evolving an organisation better calculated to meet the needs that are admitted and to render us the satisfaction, which it is the sincere desire of all responsible people to

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render. But quite apart from the future possibilities of this conference and the assistance it might be able to afford in solving any problems which the Government of Your Excellency might see fit in the meantime to refer to it, I think that this annual meeting possesses great advantages. These are so obvious that I think they need only to be mentioned to be admitted on all hands. For example, it enables Your Excellency and the Princes to come into personal contact, and the latter to meet both socially and on business the high officers of your Government. These meetings, so far as we are concerned, help us to comprehend and appreciate the policy of the Government and the aims and objects which are behind it. Thus eventually we are helped in our work. They also enable Your Excellency and your Government to know us as we are, our psychology and our ambitions, our difficulties and our hopes. I am sure that nobody will be inclined to deny the possibilities of mutual benefit which may be hoped for from intimate relations between the Princes on the one hand and the officers of the Government on the other. In that view we cannot be too deeply grateful to Your Excellency for deciding to preside personally over this gathering of the Princes, and we particularly appreciate the encouragement which Your Excellency has given to free discussion. No less do we appreciate the remarkable patience with which Your Excellency has listened to the debates.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am afraid I have allowed rather a disproportionate share in my observations to the subject of the Princes' Conference. With your permission I shall briefly touch upon a few points which I regard as essential to the performance of the duty I have on hand. First of all I must allude to the Imperial Conference which sat in England. All India is legitimately proud as well as sincerely grateful for her representation in the organisation which together with other allied consultative assemblies forms the highest deliberative bodies in the Empire but for us Ruling Princes there is in that connection an additional element of gratification in the fact that a member of our order, and no less a personage than my illustrious brother His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, was one of the three who attended the Conference. We are all proud of him and prouder still to think that he nobly upheld the tradition of our

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order, and justified in an ample measure Your Excellency's selection of him, and we are extremely grateful to Your Excellency for bringing about amongst the delegates to the Imperial Conference the presence of a Ruling Prince. I venture to think, and express it as my conviction that the more we are made use of the better it will be for the interest of this Empire. This may sound rather presumptuous but, as I have said, it is my personal opinion and my settled conviction. I think I may say without fear of contradiction that our objects and aims are in most respects identical with those of the Imperial Government and the supremest of them is the stability of the Empire. For my part I rejoice to see signs of forces coming into operation which make for such stability and fervently hope that these forces may triumph.

Just one word more and I have finished. It is to say how deeply we appreciate the free and trusting manner in which our assistance is asked for, our advice obtained in connection with measures for the more effective prosecution of this war. We deem it a privilege to help to our utmost the Empire in her hour of need, and we only trust that such as we are able to render may go some way towards winning this world war.

Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose to reply. He said:—]

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me first express my appreciation of the kind terms in which the Maharaja Scindia has proposed my health and of your cordial reception of the toast. This is a great Imperial gathering, but before I proceed to touch upon its significance let me express my personal gratification at the support which Your Highnesses have accorded to the two conferences of Ruling Princes and Chiefs which have taken place. I can assure you that these conferences are a great cause of satisfaction to me. Apart from their intrinsic importance, they enable me to keep in close personal touch with

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the Rulers of the Indian States. They afford me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of those whom I have not previously met, and in the case of those whom I have met they serve to keep our friendship in repair. I regard it as one of the most delightful features of my position that it is my duty and privilege to make the acquaintance, which will, I hope, always blossom into friendship, of your Highnesses. The Viceroy should, I hold, always endeavour to maintain the closest personal relations with the Ruling Princes and Chiefs in a country so vast in size as India. It is not always easy to maintain close personal touch, but conferences, such as we have had last year and this are of invaluable service in this respect. I am glad to know that you value these yearly gatherings and I hope that you will show your appreciation of them by continuing to attend in such large numbers. Apart from the opportunity thus afforded to me I could not in the short time during which I have been Viceroy have made the acquaintance and friendship of so many of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

At a time like the present when the shadow of the great war is over us all, and when the varying emotions resulting from the ebb and flow of that distant struggle are the ruling influence in our daily life, I find something peculiarly inspiring and stimulating in the presence here in Delhi of so many Princes and Chiefs who have identified themselves so absolutely and whole-heartedly with the cause of the Empire.

The loyalty you tendered to our King-Emperor here at the great Durbar in Delhi, in the days of peace, has proved no empty formula, for now in the hour of the Empire's trial, we see you redeeming your pledge, placing your swords and the resources of your States at the service of your Sovereign.

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Since I became Viceroy it has frequently fallen to my lot to enumerate publicly the particular services rendered on behalf of the Empire by individual States, and I have always felt and regretted the difficulty of imparting to these statistical utterances the full sense of keen appreciation which I would fain have expressed, but to-night we have actually here in our midst a representative assemblage of Princes and Chiefs, and speaking face to face with you I should like to tell you from my heart what our feelings are towards you, how well we wish you, what a place you have gained in the affections of the British people and what a glorious page you have made your own in our Empire's history. True to Oriental imagery, you have indeed been Pillars of the State, true to the traditions of your noble houses you have shown that in the East no less than in the West the motto *Noblesse oblige* exercises its sway, and worthily have you discharged the obligations which must ever rest upon your Order and upon those of proud and ancient descent. The onslaught of our enemies may have delayed the New Delhi of brick and stone which His Majesty the King-Emperor decreed should rise here, but in an assemblage such as is gathered together in Delhi to-night do we not all feel that the war is laying the foundations for a King's city more solid and more durable than the work of men's hands?

The toast of my health is only a subsidiary feature in to-night's proceedings. We are here to do honour to three gentlemen who have deserved well of us and of the country. I shall not trespass unduly on the sphere which is allotted to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, but perhaps he will allow me to say this much. Your Highnesses in selecting the Maharaja of Bikaner to speak on your behalf at our present conference gave proof that Mr. Chamberlain and I did

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not greatly err in selecting His Highness as one of the delegates to the Imperial Conference. Sir James Meston, as senior Lieutenant-Governor, with great experience in many spheres of affairs, was equally marked out for the post, and Sir Satyendra Sinha, as the first Indian to hold office on the Viceroy's Council, as an ex-president of the National Congress and a great lawyer and advocate, possessed qualifications which, to my mind, were unrivalled. It is a temptation to dilate on the personal attributes of each of these distinguished gentlemen, but I forbear. Let me, however, lay before you what was said of them by the Prime Minister of Canada on his return to that Dominion after the Imperial Conference. In a speech on another occasion I quoted what Sir Robert Borden said of Indian representation in the Imperial Conference. To-night I quote his words with regard to the three gentlemen on the occasion of this dinner. Speaking in the Canadian House of Commons he said—

‘The Indian representatives were the Maharaja of Bikaner, one of the Indian Princes and a man of splendid loyalty and devotion, who governs his country along progressive lines, and who has contributed in every possible way to the winning of this war. Another member was Sir Satyendra Sinha, who is a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India, a man of notable learning, experience and ability and of great fairness and moderation as well. The third was Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who has had a distinguished career as a Civil Servant in India and who also is a man of commanding ability and wide experience.’

I do not think, unless His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala is going to do it, that eulogy could be bettered, and it comes

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with convincing force from one who sat at the Council table with them.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not trespass further on your time. It has been a great pleasure to me to preside on this historic occasion, and I thank you once more for the cordial reception you have given to the toast of my health.

[His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in proposing the guests of the evening, said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with no small pleasure that I rise to propose on behalf of the Princes of India the toast of the three distinguished guests of the evening, Major-General His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sir Ganga Singhji Bahadur of Bikaner, His Honour Sir James Meston, and the Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Sinha. We are proud—India is proud—of their achievements at the Imperial Conference. They have discharged their trust with ability and honour. They have interpreted the mind of India, her Princes and her peoples, with political sagacity, with practical wisdom, with faith in India's future and a rich consciousness of what England has done for India's welfare, and the least we can do for them on this occasion is to offer them our gratitude and our thanks. We recall with pleasure what Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Premier, said with regard to Sir Satyendra Sinha, and knowing as we do that the structure of modern civilization is essentially one of law, it is gratifying to think that the Imperial deliberations had the benefit of advice and suggestions from an eminent representative of the legal profession, a man who has the wisdom that comes of experience, and whose absolute fairness and broadminded patriotism in the matter of giving advice to the Government as well as to the people of India were acknowledged by Lord Minto while Viceroy and Governor-General of India. We equally appreciate the valuable services rendered by Sir James Meston, whose work and utterances at the Conference have greatly enhanced our esteem for him. His able speech at the Guildhall, London, defending India, speaks volumes

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for his deep interest in and heartfelt sympathy with Indian aspirations, and coming as it did from a civilian of his high standing, representing the bureaucracy, it gives India a cause for special gratitude. And when we review the work of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner we experience a thrill of pride. By his exalted birth, his personal virtues, his political perception, his devotion to the cause of the Princes of India, his sympathy with the people's aspirations, and his eminent services to the Empire, he was singularly qualified to influence the councils of a Conference which met to discuss the problems of the political progress and reconstruction of the Empire. The published accounts give us merely a glimpse of the great and valuable work done by His Highness. It is already a matter of history how well His Highness succeeded with his ability and acumen in focussing attention on Indian affairs. The Ruling Princes of India are particularly grateful to him for having dispelled the illusion that there was any conflict between the interests of British India and the Indian States or their Rulers.

The Conference marked what Lord Curzon rightly called a 'remarkable forward step in the constitutional evolution of the Empire.' The representatives, he pointed out, were to be regarded not as members of an Imperial Conference of the old style but as members for the time being of the governing body of the British Empire. The association of Indian representatives with this governing body of the British Empire marks a new chapter in India's history. It was England's manifesto to the world that India, too, was to be given a share in the responsibility of the Imperial Government and the announcement of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 17th May was a glad assurance to us all that the brotherhood of England and India, established on the battlefield, was to abide after the war. Mr. Lloyd George said that meetings of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent Imperial concern require to be settled and that the Imperial Cabinet should consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with Imperial affairs, of the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions or some specially accredited alternate, possessed of equal authority, and of a representative of the Indian

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people, to be appointed by the Government of India. 'We hope,' said the Premier, 'that the holding of an Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy will become an accepted convention of the British constitution.'

With the essential idea of this announcement we are in full accord, but I would only make one suggestion, namely, that in addition to a representative of British India there should also be at the annual Imperial Cabinet a representative of the Indian Princes. I do not, I hope, indulge in any flattery of the order which I have the honour to represent if I say that the comprehensive task of Imperial reconstruction will hardly be complete without the continuous consultation and comradeship of Indian princes. It will, I hope, be acknowledged that the manhood, the material resources, the intellectual energy, the courage and co-operation of the Indian States have contributed not a little to the making and the strength of the British Empire. Our soldiers fight to-day in the Empire's Army of freedom, our States have their share in the up-building and strengthening of the English Government in the East. We are of the organic life of the Empire and we may reasonably claim to have a vote and a voice at the annual meetings of the Cabinet that is to shape the Imperial policy.

For similar reasons, we may well claim also to have a voice in shaping the policy of the Indian Government in all matters, and they are many which affect concurrently the interests of British India and the Indian States. We cover one-third of the area of this island continent. Providence has entrusted to us the sacred care of the destinies of nearly one-fourth of the Indian population. While anxious to respect and preserve our dignity, our ancient rights and prerogatives vouchsafed to us by our sacred treaties and engagements with the British Government and reiterated in public pronouncements by the successive Sovereigns of England, we deem it our duty and privilege to protect the rights and interests of our people, as any policy the Government of British India may project in regard to matters of joint interest must necessarily react upon our States and our people. In matters bearing upon the interests and affairs exclusively of British India we have, of course, no desire to claim a voice or interference, just as we

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maintain that our affairs should not be interfered with. The representation, however, of our States in the counsels of the Indian Empire is not only compatible with, but is essentially demanded by our complete autonomous position as Allies of the British Government. In what definite way this idea may be realised is a matter worthy of serious consideration, and I believe I interpret the mind of my order when I say that the point is important and should engage the attention of the Imperial Government at a very early date.

We are in the opening years of a new age which is to witness political reconstruction in India in the Empire, in the civilized world. The great peace will come in spite of the fact that the German Government, its militarism, its mendacity, its disregard of sacred treaty obligations, its insane belief that power and not right is the basis of the State—still thwart the world's progress and arrest the movement of civilization. India's Princes and India's people are doing a duty to themselves and to the world by fighting the battles of a world-wide Empire so aptly called "that new Venice, whose streets are the oceans." India, her Princes, and her people are heart and soul with His Majesty the King-Emperor in this world struggle. India fights for England, and the Empire, with a devotion to the cause, a loyalty and sincere attachment to the beloved King-Emperor unparalleled in the pages of history. The grim fight goes on day after day, but sure as the sun shines in the East is our firm belief that Right soon will vanquish Might, and the Day of Peace will dawn spreading its loveliness over the sorrow-smitten earth with a new song, and a new greeting to the nations. That day will welcome the important reconstructions in India, if the same are based on the whole-hearted co-operation of His Majesty's Government, the Indian States and the Indian people.

We are proud to think that the honoured representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference, Sir James Meston, Sir Satyendra Sinha and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner sounded in their utterances in England this note of co-operation. We are glad to have the assurance that the people of Great Britain responded to this note with enthusiasm. We welcome this note in the statesmanlike announcement of the Secretary of State, and we are happy that India has in the honoured president of this evening's function a Viceroy whose

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political mind understands the psychology of the Indian situation, and who has by his acts given proof of a sympathetic policy. India has cause to be grateful to His Excellency, as well as to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu. The times, indeed, in which we live are too sacred for mutual strifes, too momentous for mutual aspersions. The times are new, the times are great, and call us all to cross the bounds of commonplace, to take up the task and the burden of to-day, to set forth in mutual trust, with bright, brave, hopeful temper, as comrades in a common cause of the Empire, upon the road which India must tread unhesitating, unrelenting, to gain the goal.

It only remains for me now to ask Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, ladies and gentlemen, after you have heard the remarks of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kapurthala, to drink with enthusiasm and cordiality the health of "Our honoured guests of the evening," Major-General His Highness Maharajadhiraj Sir Ganga Singhji Bahadur of Bikaner, His Honour Sir James Meston and the Honourable Sir S. P. Sinha.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala, in seconding the toast of the guests of the evening, said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As President of the Reception Committee of this historic banquet, it is my proud privilege to propose, in conjunction with His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, the toast of the distinguished trio to whom we are assembled to do honour this evening, but before I proceed further I venture, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to offer His Excellency the Viceroy our deep gratitude for presiding at this function, and Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford for gracing the occasion with her presence. Their presence amongst us this evening, besides lending the occasion peculiar dignity, betokens the gracious interest Their Excellencies evince in the well-being of our order. In fulfilling the highly agreeable duty entrusted to me I would like wholeheartedly to identify myself with His Highness of Patiala's eulogy of the personages who are the subject of this toast. Ever since their return to India, after successfully accomplishing their arduous mission

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at the seat of the Empire, the Ruling Princes have been animated by an unanimous desire to seize some opportunity of publicly giving emphatic expression to their admiration for and appreciation of the eminent part His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Honour Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Sinha bore in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference as the representatives of this country. The Conference of Ruling Princes which has been in session this week has afforded the longed for opportunity, and we feel genuine gratification in realising that we are at last enabled to extend them a warm and enthusiastic welcome in the midst of the colossal Armageddon which at the present moment absorbs the united energies of the whole Empire, and on the victorious end of which our dearest yearnings are centred.

The spectacle we witness this evening is in itself a moral inspiration. We are celebrating, so to speak, the *début* of India at the Round Table of our Imperial body politic, no less than the achievements of our distinguished delegates. We are demonstrating our pride in the exploits of the latter, just as much as in the consciousness that, through them, the Government and the people of British India and the Ruling Princes have been definitely admitted to partnership in the Imperial corporation, on terms of perfect equality and trust. There is no ill wind that bodes no-body any good, and this applies *proprio vigore* to the Herculean struggle which at the present moment holds mankind in its sinister grip. It has proved a blessing in disguise in so far as it has brought into relief the strength of the bond that links the far-flung constituents of that wonderful agglomeration of nations welded together under the ægis of the British Crown, and that concentric convergence of aim which pervades them individually and as a whole.

His Majesty's Government's invitation to India to depute her representatives to share the deliberations of the Imperial and Overseas Ministers in England and to assist in shaping the future policy of the Empire, opened a new chapter in her history and marked an unmistakeable recognition of her efforts in the Imperial cause and of her fitness for participation in the momentous decisions of the hour. The invitation naturally thrilled the whole country with enthusiasm,

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but the permanence of this wise and statesmanlike measure depended on the choice of the representatives. A false step in this respect at the very inception of that beneficent policy would have marred its future developments. The fact that His Majesty's Government have announced their intention of extending to India the privilege of representation permanently speaks volumes for the success of the selection that His Excellency the Viceroy, with his characteristic foresight and sound judgment, determined upon. As we are convinced that the supreme tact and rare ability and experience with which the three chosen delegates are endowed, and with which they approached the performance of their delicate and difficult mission, contributed towards the crystallisation of that policy, we feel that India has every reason to be grateful to His Excellency for the excellence of his choice and to the delegates for their labours.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is a splendid specimen of the Ruling Princes of India and may be described as an Imperial asset. In him we have a faithful and staunch friend, and the Empire a firm pillar and a wise counsellor. His Honour Sir James Meston is a distinguished member of that body of Civil Servants which has played such a conspicuous part in the regeneration of our country. His public utterances and acts as ruler of an important Province breathe genuine sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of India, and affection for her princes and people. Sir Satyendra Sinha is an outstanding figure in the political life of the country, a lawyer of remarkable forensic talents, and a cautious and sound politician. He has also earned the esteem of the British and Indian people alike, as an administrator of a high order. In honouring such men we are honouring all that is best among the various important classes in India. The toast of their health is, therefore, assured of an ovation. With this confidence I beg to invite you all to join us in drinking the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, His Honour Sir James and Sir Satyendra Sinha wishing them many years of health, happiness and usefulness to the Empire.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When even the poet was constrained to confess that 'words but half reveal and half conceal the soul within,' a layman can hardly hope adequately to express his sentiments when he is moved so deeply as I am

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to-night. I am afraid that no words of mine can even half express my innermost feelings, and I can only beg Your Highnesses to believe that I am deeply conscious of the very high honour done me to-night. I am extremely grateful for this signal mark of approbation on Your Highnesses' part. I wish I could believe that I really deserved the opinions which you have been so kind as to express in regard to myself and my humble services whilst on my recent mission to England. I value them the more as they emanate from generous impulses and evidence your kindly feelings towards me. I can assure Your Highnesses that no one could appreciate more than I do what a high honour it was for me to have represented Your Highnesses at the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. That honour was enhanced by the numerous tokens of Your Highnesses' approval of my selection and by the confidence which you were good enough to place in me, and to which you gave public expression in the banquet in Bombay, on the eve of my departure for England in February last. By to-night's function with which Your Highnesses have been pleased to honour my late colleagues and myself you have added substantially to my gratitude, which is rendered all the deeper by the distinguished representative of our gracious King-Emperor presiding over to-night's banquet. To His Excellency we, the Ruling Princes, will ever remain grateful for specially securing our representation in the innermost councils of the Empire. No less are we grateful for his desire to cultivate the closest personal relations with the Ruling Princes of India, for his unmistakable sympathy with ourselves and our States, and for the kind words in which His Excellency has referred to our order to-night.

As His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has already said, we are particularly pleased that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford has been able to grace this function with her presence. I also beg to tender my heartfelt thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and to my friends Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Kapurthala, President of the Banquet Committee, and the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, on whom as Secretary much heavy work has fallen in organizing this banquet, for the very generous terms in which they have so kindly referred to me. And in

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what words can I thank Your Highnesses for the most handsome present which you have given me as a token of your friendship and regard, which I greatly esteem ? Need I say that this gift will ever remain amongst my most cherished possessions. I am not exaggerating, when I say that the memory of these many incidents and of to-night's ceremony will be fondly treasured by the people of my State.

If it be permissible on an occasion like this for one guest to refer to his fellow-guests of the evening, I would wish to associate myself with all that has been said to-night about the great services rendered by His Honour Sir James Meston and the Honourable Sir Satyendra Sinha, and I would add that no one could have had more courteous colleagues or more conscientious and devoted fellow-workers in the cause of one's country. It is only when the whole story comes to be told that we shall realize in any adequate measure how much India owes to these two distinguished statesmen. That the veteran Sir Satyendra Sinha with his calm judgment and broad outlook should have so whole-heartedly and unsparingly fought the battles of India with earnestness, tact and enthusiasm was only to be expected from a distinguished patriot of his reputation, and his services entitle him to the gratitude of all his fellow-countrymen, but further, I would venture to predict, and I do so in no irresponsible fashion, that the verdict of history will accord no less high a place in India's gratitude to Sir James Meston for the just, impartial and equally whole-hearted manner in which he espoused her cause and for the courage and ability with which he urged her claims. As I have already remarked on another public occasion since my return from England, no Indian could have been more loyal or true to India's interests than the liberal-minded gentleman who at present presides over the destinies of the United Provinces and whose services we all hope will not be lost to this country when, before long, he relinquishes charge of his present high office. As for my humble share of work during this mission in England, I would only say that all through the time that I had the honour of representing Your Highnesses I considered myself answerable to you for all my public acts and utterances and that I conscientiously endeavoured to the utmost of my capacity to serve our Emperor, our Empire, our order and the people of our States as well as the people of British India.

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Nine months ago, at the banquet in Bombay, I was entrusted by Your Highnesses with messages of loyalty and devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, of friendship and goodwill towards Great Britain as well as our sister Dominions and Colonies, and with messages of our steadfast determination, in common with the people of Great Britain, to see this war through to a triumphant issue. That trust it was not difficult to fulfil, for wherever we went we found that the staunch loyalty of the Princes and people of India, particularly as evinced by our participation in the present world war, had received and was receiving generous and sympathetic recognition. We were presented with the Freedom of the City of London and other important cities in Great Britain, and as I remarked in my speeches on those occasions, we realized that these tributes were but a generous recognition of the unique position in the British Empire of the Ruling Princes of India and of India and of the services which along with our fellow-countrymen it had been our proud privilege to render to our beloved King-Emperor and His Empire for evidently the purpose of honouring us was to recognize that India had become, and in a deeper sense than before, an integral portion of the British Empire, worthy of her copartnership and of her place in the great fabric which comprises the Dominions Overseas.

The gracious sympathy and deep interest which Their Imperial Majesties have always been pleased to manifest in all matters relating to the Indian Empire are a matter of common knowledge in this country. Similarly the knowledge of the equally gracious interests and solicitude evinced by Their Imperial Majesties for the *izzat* and privileges of the Ruling Princes is our most cherished possession. From the telegram which my late colleagues and I jointly despatched to His Excellency the Viceroy on the day of our return to India it is already known that we were the recipients in England of the gracious messages which His Imperial Majesty communicated to the Imperial War Conference. India was honoured also by the gracious interest which the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress were pleased to evince in our work. In that telegram we also reported the universal appreciation that was accorded to our inclusion in the inner councils of the Empire, the gratifying and cordial reception which was accorded to us by His

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Imperial Majesty's Ministers and the statesmen of the Dominions, the spirit of friendliness and sympathy with which questions affecting the special interests of India were invariably approached and the genuine desire shown to eliminate a conflict of policy between India and other parts of the Empire. We added that the fullest opportunity had been given to the Indian representatives, who accompanied the Secretary of State to every meeting of both the Cabinet and the Conference, of sharing in the discussion of every subject which came up. We alluded to India's participation in future Imperial Conferences being insured by a resolution as also to the high courtesy and consideration shown us by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the late Secretary of State for India. I shall therefore not take up the time of this distinguished assembly by dilating on these topics.

While on this subject I must not omit to say that on various occasions in England I promised to bring back to our countrymen, messages of sympathy and goodwill. In my speech at the luncheon at the Mansion House following the presentation of the Freedom of the City of London, I said that we would, on our return, tell our countrymen that they can confidently rely on Great Britain fulfilling her great mission, and being true to her glorious heritage. The significant events since our return to India have happily made that promise all the more easy to fulfil. The recent pronouncement by the Secretary of State on behalf of his Imperial Majesty's Government and the sympathetic and statesmanlike speech by His Excellency the Viceroy early in September open a new chapter in the political history of India and cannot but have the most beneficial effect. This must be a source of genuine gratification to those who have at heart the best interests of the Empire and of this country. I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of my brother Princes in offering my respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Viceroy on the courageous part he has taken in this great event. In consequence, Lord Chelmsford, if I may say so, deservedly commands to-day the gratitude and confidence of every responsible person in India. In his speech on the opening day of the recent Legislative Session in Simla, after warning all communities, British and Indian alike, the public leaders and particularly the press representing every interest and every class, that 'sentiment is a delicate plant which withers under the

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rudder breath of uncharitableness,' His Excellency made an eloquent appeal for mutual confidence, co-operation and goodwill. In common with Your Highnesses, I belong to no political party, our sole concern being with the welfare and strength of the Empire and of India. I would, therefore, venture strongly to express the hope that His Excellency's earnest appeal will meet with a warm response from all who have sincerely at heart the best interests of the Empire and this country.

I fervently pray that all classes and communities may realize their great responsibilities and sink their differences, blending all their energy to work with greater mutual toleration and sympathy for the moral and material advancement of India, the contentment and prosperity of which will contribute greatly to the strength of the Empire, for as that brilliant Viceroy, Lord Curzon, said in his speech at Calcutta in 1902, 'we are ordained to walk in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us, we should be impotent without you.' Let Englishmen and Indians accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people. In spite of all the horrors and misery which this terrible war has brought in its train it has, we may comfort ourselves at any rate, strengthened the ties that bind Great Britain and India together. Therefore we feel more than ever that our destinies are intertwined. The common baptism of fire has brought us as near as brothers. Differences of race or creed notwithstanding, the King-Emperor's soldiers in Great Britain and India have fought side by side in the common defence of justice and humanity against a treacherous and unscrupulous foe, and the reality of their comradeship on all the battlefields has come home to their people in their respective lands. There now exists between us a better understanding, a greater sympathy and closer ties of friendship and affection. Surely these are happy auguries for the future and when, under the dispensation of a just Providence, victory is achieved by us, we may well look forward to seeing India an honoured member in the family of nations that form the British Empire, joining hands with England to achieve the triumphs of peace, which ultimately are more important than even the triumphs of war.

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H. H. Sir James Meston said :—

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses,—We three, whom your gracious hospitality has brought together again to-night, when in England used to divide the duty of responding to such toasts in order, that we should not steal each other's *impromptus*. No such division of labour is possible to-night, and the heavy burden is laid on each of us of finding adequate expression for the pride which we feel in being your guests at this unique and historic banquet, and the gratitude with which we are the recipients of the distinguished honour of this gathering. Not belonging to your order, not belonging to your race, I have special reason to prize the great compliment which Your Highnesses have paid to me, for it shows that you count me at least as belonging to India, and it is to India that my allegiance and my affection are and ever will be given. By the generous words in which was proposed my health, and by this beautiful souvenir the crown is placed upon a piece of work which will always be among my proudest memories. When Your Excellency selected us to assist the Secretary of State in the great Imperial Councils of War, we recognised the high honour you conferred on us and the trust you confided in us, but it was not until we were in the thick of our mission that we appreciated the responsibility with which you had invested us. That came when we found ourselves treated, not as assistants or attendants but placed on precisely the same footing as the statesmen of the great Self-Governing Dominions and of England itself, in the deliberations and discussions of the Cabinet, and thus associated in the settlement of some of the gravest issues that have ever engaged the attention of the greatest Empire in history. For that supreme courtesy we were indebted to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, whose thoughtfulness for us personally and whose farsighted consideration for the welfare and honour of India left the deepest impression on my mind.

The heavy responsibility, my lord, with which you had laden us was lightened by the extraordinary kindness which we received from the people of England. Of its more social side I saw comparatively little, for at most of the functions I spent the greater part of the time

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in corners, or behind pillars, explaining in an undertone to anxious speakers how to pronounce Sir S. P. Sinha's first name. When, in addition, I told them the meaning of the name, I noticed that Sir Satyendra's speech was listened to with even more than that hearty interest which he always commanded, for in England, as elsewhere, truth is stranger than political oratory. England was hospitality itself to us, and we endeavoured to repay it by a vast amount of post-prandial and other information. I think we improved the minds of our hosts, but we also sometimes puzzled them. Here, for example, is a cutting from a Lancashire paper descriptive of our visit to Manchester.—“Disappointment awaited those who had expected Monday's ceremonies to have a spice of Oriental magnificence. To the company at the Town Hall was revealed no splendour of eastern costume, flashing gems or jewelled sabres. The Maharaja was in the khaki of a British officer and his two associates wore the ordinary garb of English gentlemen. Sir S. P. Sinha is a Bengali lawyer and Sir James Meston is a Scot. Nevertheless all three spoke idiomatic English with ease and fluency.” Well, we did our best to justify Your Excellency's confidence and Your Highnesses have placed on us to-night the laurels of your approval.

In some other quarters, owing to the dust of current controversies, there has been a tendency to overlook the tremendous importance of the decisions about India which were reached at those Imperial councils. When the dust has settled and the air is clear and the fabric of India's political future is not seen as a palace of dreams, but is realised as a structure which will rise on the very ground whereon we now stand, of which we here shall have helped to lay the foundations, and which will grow in the sweat and strife of many generations before it becomes a complete and balanced whole, then I venture to think that the place which India has been given in advance among the self-governing nations of our Empire will be fully envisaged, for that place could never have been accorded to India whether we, her representatives, spoke with the tongues of men or of angels, if the people of England and of its daughter Dominions had not determined that India, like them, should be encouraged to become mistress in her own house. In the vast amalgam of the British Empire are many strata of civilisation,

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communities of infinite variety and in every possible stage of development, but the goal of Empire set immutable as the firmament, is a union of free nations. If we would only pause to realise this and to read in its light the inner meaning of the invitations which were extended to India by the British Government and by the Imperial Conference, how vain and needless would be many of the suspicions which are now agitating men's minds and many of the excitements which are now threatening to sow dissension.

Your Excellencies and Highnesses, it would ill become me to talk politics, but this is the first occasion on which we three who were Your Excellency's emissaries to England and the vehicle for its Imperial message to India have been able with one voice to speak on the deeper political aspect of that message to us. It means that England invited India to enter at once with her guidance and help upon the long and difficult road which she herself and her daughter Dominions have already trodden and which leads to political maturity. It called on India to fit her peoples for the labours of democracy and its responsibilities. It charged every man of British birth, whether in England or across the seas or in India itself, to be true to his faith and to co-operate in the task, and it called on India to show patience and confidence in those who are endeavouring to carry on the King's Government in this country. It does not require a fatalist to see, as I reverently believe, the moving figure of Providence in all that is being written on the world to-day. Much that is disturbing us at the moment in India seems annoying, shortsighted and unnecessary, but it is wholly evanescent and transitory. The fact which transcends all others is that England has determined to give to India the most priceless gift in its power, not as a matter of huckstering for some future return, not even as a reward for that loyalty for which the true heart of India seeks no reward, but because it believes that now, after centuries of struggle and schism India may be trusted to enter upon a nobler struggle, the struggle towards union and the progress which follows from the strength which union brings. And to whom is the vision given of what India will be when that union comes? None of us will live to see it, none of us can foretell its political form. It will be an Empire within an Empire united by the mutual

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and enlightened tolerance of the vast congeries of its peoples. Its 300 millions will probably be the citizens of a federation of States based upon race or language or historic traditions, some ruled over by Princes bearing Your Highnesses' names, others by the chosen of the people themselves, but all cemented by a common love for India and a common devotion to the British Crown. If I have soared into visions and prophecies, it is the great kindness of Your Highnesses that has gone to my head and I can only ask you to forgive me and accept once again my deepest gratitude.

The Honourable Sir S. P. Sinha said :

Your Excellencies and Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,— So deeply do I appreciate the great honour done to me this evening that I find it difficult to express it adequately. Notwithstanding the very kind terms in which Your Excellency and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala have referred to me, I cannot but feel that the honour done to me this evening is not in any sense personal. I feel that it is intended to commemorate the definite and irrecoverable admission of India into the great partnership of the British Empire. An assembly of so many of the Rulers of more than a third part of this vast country, presided over by the Viceroy, representing our beloved Sovereign, is obviously emblematic of the future states of India bound by indissoluble links to each other and to the Imperial Commonwealth, of which they will be as much component parts as England or Scotland. I venture to think that the guests of this evening similarly symbolise the India of the future, where Princess and peoples, Indians and Englishmen, officials and non-officials, will combine to form a powerful nation jealous of its own rights, but even more tenacious of the rights of that greater nation, that larger Commonwealth to which it will be their equal privilege to belong.

My lord, we in British India are proud of the glorious part which the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India have taken in the present war. Their unstinted support of England in men, money and materials has been generously acknowledged on all sides. They have stimulated our own efforts in the same direction, and it is our earnest hope and belief that both the Princes and the people of India will continue to give the

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same unstinted support and consecrate all their efforts to the unfinished task that still lies before us in assuring through victory the defence of the Empire and the vindication of the world's liberties. My lord, you and His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala have been pleased to refer to the services which I in conjunction with my colleagues endeavoured to render to our King and our country. I can say without affectation that I am painfully conscious of not having done as much as many more gifted countrymen of mine would have done had it fallen to their lot to play the part that was assigned to me; but, my lord, I did what I could in however small a way, to interpret to the members of the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet the feelings and sentiments of my countrymen, and I am happy to know that Your Excellency thinks I was not altogether unsuccessful.

One must remember the nature of the meetings in which it was our privilege to take a part. It was a War Conference, a War Cabinet of the Empire summoned for definite and specific purposes. We were there more to receive than to give information and principally as to the immediate needs and necessities of the war. Nevertheless we were free to express our opinions on all matters under discussion, and on all occasions when we felt it necessary to express our views we were given as patient and as courteous a hearing as any of the great statesmen who took part in those memorable meetings.

There were a few matters specially and intimately concerning India which came before the Conference, and I think we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the results. One was the resolution by which the Conference recommended to the Dominions overseas that a resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907 excluding India should be rescinded, and that India should hereafter be represented at every future conference. Another was the resolution accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between the Dominions and India and recommending our claims for favourable consideration by the Governments concerned. There has been some criticism that neither of these resolutions is productive of any practical benefit to India. I am unable to admit either the force or the justice of such criticism. It is true that neither of these resolutions affect

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the internal constitution of the Government of India, but was it possible or desirable that the Conference should deal with that? Would it have been reasonable to ask that the Dominions should concede to India what they have not conceded even to England herself, the right of free and unrestricted immigration? It is a concession which they cannot make without giving up the right—the fundamental right—of every self-governing country to determine the character and composition of its own population. I could not insist on unlimited numbers of my countrymen having the right to settle in Canada or Australia, because I could not with equanimity contemplate similar settlements, say of our English fellow-subjects in Kashmir, or our negro fellow-subjects in the plains of Bengal. If I was in error in not insisting upon this extraordinary concession I was at least in good company, for Mr. Gokhale, than whom India has had no greater patriot in recent times, had a few years before expressly repudiated any such claim on behalf of India.

My lord, our relations in the past with many of the Dominions and Colonies have not been happy and I think they themselves would not deny that their treatment of our countrymen has been sometimes worse than inhospitable. On the other hand we in India have not always discriminated between the different Dominions and Colonies. Our causes of complaint against them are not the same in every case. Some of them want our labour, others do not, and their treatment of our emigrants varies accordingly. We have, therefore, distinct grievances against different Colonies, though we are inclined to lump them all against the Dominions generally. I do not, however, desire to dwell on them nor am I able to assert that our grievances in these respects have all been removed. To expect that would be to expect a miracle of the age which is long since passed, but I venture to claim that the resolution in question clears the atmosphere and indicates a disposition to remedy these wrongs as far as and as soon as possible. We considered it the part of prudence to be content with such a notable advance and to leave the rest to time and to the growing feeling of solidarity which the war has unquestionably engendered and a debate in the Canadian House of Commons on the 18th May last, in which both Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier dealt with the resolution in question shows that we were right.

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The third and, perhaps, the most important result of our delegation was the announcement made by Mr. Lloyd George that annually, and if necessary oftener, there should assemble in London an Imperial Cabinet, in which while the Secretary of State for India would sit as a member of the British Cabinet there would be a separate representative of the Government of India. It is difficult to realise the far-reaching effect of this change, announced at the end of the sittings by the Prime Minister as the unanimous decision of the British Cabinet. It contained the germ and defined the method of constitutional development in the immediate future, and I know there has been some adverse criticism, even of this, on the basis that such representative will be only a nominee of the Government of India. but what else can he be ? What else is the Prime Minister of Canada, of Newfoundland, of Australia, or of New Zealand, or South Africa, but the delegates of their respective Governments ? True, each of these countries possesses responsible government, whereas India does not do so at present, but would the critics prefer that India should not take part in the Conference until she become completely self-governing or did they expect that, after our eight weeks' stay in England we would bring back in our pockets an Ordinance making India a completely self-governing country at one bound ? So far as I know, no one in India has even now asked for such a catastrophic change. I claim that this step brings India as nearly as possible to the same position as the self-governing Dominions with reference to the Mother Country. When and as soon as India reaches the goal recently announced as a logical sequence of the steps previously taken, her representative in the Imperial Cabinet will be a delegate in the same manner and by the same process as the representatives of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland, but till then we may be well content that the Government of India should avail themselves of the best available means for adequate representation of the country which it governs. An unwise choice may be made in some instances, but sooner or later the right man will be chosen, for it is impossible to conceive that the Government of India should deliberately choose a man likely to betray the interests of the country he is sent to represent.

My lord, now that I have mentioned the recent memorable announcement of the British Cabinet, representing all political parties,

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I cannot refrain from making an appeal to all sections of the community loyally to co-operate with each other in devising the means whereby that policy can be given effect to. The question of how to adjust a continuous progress towards self government with the welfare of all the peoples, not only in India itself but of the rest of the Commonwealth, is, perhaps, the most difficult of all the problems which confront us. The solution of it will be found only in so far as we keep resolutely in front of our eyes the welfare of the whole. If the Indian people continue to remember the responsibilities as well as the right which liberty carries in its train, and if the British people in India and elsewhere remember that the purpose of the Commonwealth is to promote the development of all its members, a way will surely be found. I venture to remind both sides of the controversy which has unhappily arisen that nothing can prejudice the solution of that problem so much as an uncompromising attitude or intemperate language. I am sure that a mutual understanding would easily result if representative men on both sides would meet and discuss the matters upon which they are supposed to differ, with a view to an agreement, and then both sides would probably find that the matters upon which they agree are more important than the matters upon which they differ. Both sides should freely and frankly accept the policy announced in its entirety, and not so much of it only as suits either side, and both should recognise that no change can be accepted that might endanger the preservation of law and order.

My lord, I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude for the cordial reception we met with in England from all quarters. The King-Emperor, besides taking a keen and personal interest in the proceedings of the Conference in their special relation to India, was graciously pleased to treat each one of us with the greatest kindness. The British and Colonial statesmen vied with each other in the courtesy and consideration they extended to us and as for the then Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, I find it difficult to find words to express my gratitude for the courteous help and guidance we received from him. If India ever comes to know the full extent of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's services to her cause I am sure she would remember them. Without offending the modesty of my former

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colleagues, I express my gratitude to them also for the encouragement and assistance I received at their hands. Invested with splendid traditions of race and ancestry and united to the British Crown by ties of fealty and devotion strikingly manifested by his personal services during the war, the Maharaja of Bikaner added both dignity and wisdom to the Indian representation. Sir James Meston's complete identification with the land of his adoption, his experience of administration and his powerful and well-informed advocacy of her interests was a source of strength that India has reason to remember with lasting gratitude. And now, my lord, I must conclude by thanking Your Excellency and Your Highnesses again and again for your great kindness this evening."

This closed the banquet.]

CHIEFS' CONFERENCE, DELHI. CLOSE OF—

The Maharaja of Bikaner at the close of the Conference on behalf of the Chiefs addressed the Viceroy as follows :—

10th November 1917.

Your Excellency,—As we were unable, owing to the short time that was left us, to consider our reply to Your Excellency's speech on the opening day of this Conference we propose to deal now with some of the points touched upon by Your Excellency on the 5th instant.

We are particularly pleased that Your Excellency decided to preside throughout the Conference this year and we much hope that the same may be possible in regard to future Conferences.

We gratefully remember that the way for these Conferences was paved by Your Excellency's noble predecessor, Lord Hardinge, when he invited us to discuss the proposed 'Higher Chiefs' College' scheme; to Your Excellency we are indebted for the enlarged scope of the Conferences and for your kind assurance that you wish them to be annual functions during the tenure of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

In your speech Your Excellency has referred to the recent pronouncement made by the Secretary of State. The loyal attachment of the

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Ruling Princes to the King-Emperor is proverbial and we consequently rejoice at the further accession of strength that this pronouncement and the impending political changes will bring to His Imperial Majesty's Empire by the enhanced loyalty, happiness and contentment of His Indian subjects. As Indians again we rejoice at the aspirations of our fellow-countrymen in British India being thus further met by this sagacious act of British statesmanship. Might we ask Your Excellency kindly to convey to Mr. Montagu on his arrival here assurances of our warm welcome and our good wishes for the success of his mission.

When the views of individuals and associations, regarding the nature of political reforms to be introduced in British India, are shortly to be considered by Your Excellency in conjunction with the Secretary of State, we have no doubt that you will both also consider questions connected with the Ruling Princes and the Indian States. And we trust that before the British Government come to any decision on such questions, we, the Ruling Princes, will also be consulted. It can never be too often emphasised that we represent about one-third of the Indian Empire and about one-fifth of its entire population, and that no scheme for the progress of India can be regarded as satisfactory or complete which does not take into consideration questions relating to these important territories outside British India. We feel that we too must keep a definite goal in front of us; and whilst it is essential that our rights and privileges and our position as Allies and Friends, guaranteed to us by solemn Treaties and Engagements with the British Government, remain unaltered, our States cannot afford to lag behind in the general advance, which India's association with Great Britain alone has rendered possible. It is for these reasons that we are now all the more anxious to see the early establishment of a constitutional Chamber which may safeguard the interests and rights of ourselves and of our States. As we clearly stated last year, we have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want outside interference in the affairs of our States and ourselves. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat that we have no desire to claim a voice in the settlement of any matters other than those relating to ourselves and our States or which are of Imperial or common concern.

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Since we last met, the report of the Mesopotamia Commission has been published in which strictures have been passed on Lord Hardinge in regard to certain features of the Mesopotamia Campaign. India has not, we believe, been able to accept these findings in their entirety and has claimed a voice in any judgment that may be passed on the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge. Your Excellency, we do not wish to enter into any controversial details, but we would like to take this, the earliest, opportunity of once again testifying to our esteem, admiration, and gratitude for Lord Hardinge, who proved himself to be a true and sympathetic friend of the Ruling Princes.

The need for the authoritative declaration of policy in regard to Minority Administrations was greatly felt and the fact that the Government of India have stated in their resolution that the policy announced has the additional weight of the authority of His Imperial Majesty's Government, will be all the more gratifying and reassuring. As we have been individually and officially addressed on the subject we do not propose to take up Your Excellency's time on this occasion.

We listened with special attention to what Your Excellency stated in regard to the question of successions in our States and of the ceremonials to be observed at the accession and coming of age of the Ruling Princes. We desire to express to Your Excellency our grateful thanks for those modifications in regard to the ceremonial procedure on such occasions which have been made in deference to the wishes we expressed at last year's Conference. As the revised Memorandum has only recently been placed before us, it is not possible for us to deal fully with any points on this occasion, but we will, in due course, address Your Excellency on the subject.

We appreciate the consideration for our convenience which prompted the Government of India to alter the arrangements in regard to our visits to places in British India.

We are specially indebted to Your Excellency for securing the representation of the Ruling Princes at the recent Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference in London, and we have noted with gratification Your Excellency's reference to our partnership in the innermost Councils of the Empire.

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While offering our gratitude to Your Excellency for nominating His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to represent us, it is a matter of sincere gratification to us that Your Excellency's choice fell on one of our most distinguished Members, who upheld the traditions and dignity of our order and justified, as we are glad to learn from Your Excellency's speech, your selection and the confidence of the Imperial Government.

With Your Excellency's valued assistance we confidently look forward to the continuation of special representation on behalf of the Ruling Princes in future meetings of the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference.

In conclusion, we thank Your Excellency very warmly for the manner in which Your Excellency has referred to the services of the Indian States and of our Troops in this War, and it is unnecessary for us to assure Your Excellency of our continued and ungrudging co-operation and of our determination to apply ourselves with zeal and energy to the prosecution of this War until, by the grace of God, victory crowns the arms of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor."

His Excellency replied to the address in the following terms :—]

Your Highnesses,—I am gratified to learn from the address which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has just read on your behalf that my decision to hold these Conferences annually and to preside over them myself has given you satisfaction, and I can assure you that to myself it has been not only a source of enlightenment and instruction, but also a very great personal pleasure to preside at your gathering and to listen to your debates. It would not be fitting for me on this occasion to speak at any length on your request, now again repeated, for the early establishment of a constitutional Chamber to represent your interests in matters of Imperial or joint concern. We have already recognised, by the institution of these annual Conferences, the need for some assemblage for the discussion of matters affecting yourselves,

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your States and your people, and Your Highnesses will not have failed to notice that our deliberations have in practice passed beyond the domain of purely State affairs into that of questions having a common interest to the States and to British India. I have deprecated the immediate institution of a more formal assemblage with a fixed constitution and strictly-defined powers for the reasons explained in my opening address. I do not, however, in any way wish to discourage Your Highnesses from devoting to the subject at once that earnest and deliberate consideration which its paramount importance demands, and I can assure you that any scheme which you may put forward will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of my Government. It may be possible to arrange for a preliminary and quite informal discussion of the subject towards the close of Mr. Montagu's stay in India, and I shall lose no time in placing before him your views on the subject, when they have been formulated. In the meanwhile I would suggest that you turn the matter over in your minds with a view to framing the outlines of a scheme which, while ensuring due scope for the representation of your views, will not infringe the principle to which you have given expression, namely, that the scope of any such assemblage which you may advocate shall be strictly limited to matters relating to yourselves and your States, or which are of joint interest to yourselves and to the Government of India. In framing your scheme, you will, no doubt, bear in mind the possibility of providing that the Chamber or Council, which you would wish to bring into being, should be so constituted as to permit of joint consultation with the high dignitaries of British India.

Turning to the other matters mentioned in your speech, I am glad to note the generous terms in which Your

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Highnesses speak of the services rendered by Lord Hardinge to the Ruling Princes, and shall take an early opportunity of communicating to His Lordship your appreciative message. I will also convey to Mr. Montagu, on his arrival, your assurances of welcome and good wishes.

I rejoice to hear that our declarations on Minority Administrations and on the ceremonials connected with successions in your States have met with general approval, and, while I would deprecate any further general discussion, I shall of course be prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically any individual representation which you may wish to address to me on these subjects.

Your desire that the Ruling Princes should be specially represented in future meetings of the Imperial Cabinet and of the Imperial Conference will receive my careful attention. But this is a matter which, as Your Highnesses will recognise, raises somewhat wide issues, and I am not in a position at present, as you can well understand, to give any undertaking in the matter.

I note with great satisfaction and gratitude Your Highnesses' assurance of your continued co-operation in the prosecution of the war, although, in view of what you have already done in this direction, no such assurance was needed. The aid given by the great Ruling Princes towards the Imperial cause and their unflinching loyalty to the King-Emperor and his Crown are matters of history, and I feel sure that, when the war is over, there will not be one among you who will not have cause to look back with legitimate pride and satisfaction to the services which his State has rendered to the cause of justice and freedom.

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As regards the agenda which we have had under discussion during the past week, there is not much for me to say, since the discussions are still fresh in your minds. I am glad that you have expressed yourselves in favour of admitting the Raipur College to the privilege of entering for the Diploma of the Chiefs' Colleges, subject to the provisos that you have mentioned, and trust that this encouragement will stimulate the College to maintain a high standard of education, both moral and intellectual. I am glad too that you have appreciated the advice and promise of assistance given to you by my officers in the matter of horse-breeding and of agricultural development, and I trust that Your Highnesses will take full advantage of the facilities offered. Both the subjects, and particularly that of agricultural development, are of very great importance to your States, and it is satisfactory to think that you are ready and anxious to co-operate with us in developing the resources of the Indian Empire to the fullest extent. I congratulate Your Highnesses also on the enlightened view which you have taken of the importance of preparing full and accurate agricultural and other statistics and trust that the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee, which Your Highnesses have approved, will achieve the desired result.

On the question of social precedence, I think that Your Highnesses came to a wise decision in agreeing that this question, which is of no immediate urgency, should be deferred for consideration until you have more time to examine it in all its bearings.

As regards the rules for the conduct of the business of this Conference, Your Highnesses have made some valuable suggestions which, for my own part and as at present advised,

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I am quite prepared to accept. The success of our debates and the orderly manner in which they have been conducted are a sufficient testimony of the usefulness of these rules and of their general suitability.

On the whole, although the subjects which we have discussed have been criticised in some quarters as being dull and uninteresting, I think that we may congratulate ourselves on having achieved some useful results and, in any case, I feel sure that this opportunity of meeting together has not been wasted, and that the exchange of views between us has not only stimulated your interest in the subjects on the agenda paper, but will conduce towards further mutual understanding and goodwill.

And now, Your Highnesses, I wish you a cordial farewell until we meet again next year.

21st December 1917.

OPENING OF THE MADRAS INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.

[During the Secretary of State's visit to India in the winter of 1917-18, His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu, visited Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in December. On the afternoon of the 21st December His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Madras Industrial Exhibition in the presence of a large gathering of Europeans and Indians. Mr. Montagu and Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Pentland were present at the ceremony. On behalf of the Executive Committee, the Chairman, Mr. C. A. Innes, read the following Address of Welcome:—

Your Excellency,—We, the Members of the Executive Committee of the Madras Exhibition of Indian Arts and Industries, offer Your Excellency a most loyal and hearty welcome to the Presidency of Madras. We are aware how fully Your Excellency's time is occupied at present, and we are deeply sensible both of the honour you have done us in being present here to-day and of your kindness in graciously

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consenting to perform this opening ceremony. The occasion is unique. It is the first time in history that a Governor-General of India has opened an Industrial Exhibition in Madras, and from your presence here, Sir, we infer your deep concern for the industrial welfare of India. We believe that, owing to the policy of Your Excellency's Government, India is on the eve of great industrial development. It is our hope that this Presidency will play its part in that development, and we trust that this Exhibition will serve as a landmark from which future progress may be measured.

We do not propose to trespass on Your Excellency's time with a long address, but we may be permitted to give a very brief account of the origin of this Exhibition. As lately as 1915 a very successful Industrial Exhibition was held on this same site, but in the two years that have since elapsed, events have moved fast. The appointment of the Indian Industrial Commission has stimulated interest in industrial matters, and the shortage of steamers and the circumstances of the present war have brought home to us all the urgency of the need of organising the resources of India and of developing its manufactures. When therefore in July last His Excellency the Governor of Madras suggested that the Exhibition of 1915 should be repeated on a wider and more ambitious scale, the idea was warmly approved by a representative gathering of the leading businessmen in Madras. It was also decided at that meeting that, as in 1915, the Exhibition should be held in Christmas week in conjunction with the Peoples' Park Fair, and that the proceeds both of the Exhibition and of the Fair should be devoted to the Madras War Fund. His Excellency invited a number of influential noblemen and gentlemen to constitute the general committee of the Exhibition, and we were appointed members of the Executive Committee and entrusted with the task of working out the scheme in detail and of organizing both the Exhibition and the Fair.

Our instructions were to organize an Exhibition of Indian Arts and Industries, but at the same time to give prominence as far as possible to new developments tending to make India more self-contained and less dependent on the United Kingdom. The task has not been an easy one. Madras is far from the great manufacturing centres of India;

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the Railways are congested with traffic; and many important firms are preoccupied with urgent war work. But we have done our best, and we trust that Your Excellency and the public will find that some measure of success has attended our efforts.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance which we have received in the shape of money, materials and personal service, from many public-spirited firms and individuals not only in Madras but in the Presidency generally. Our special thanks however are due to the South Indian Athletic Association for the loan of their ground for the purpose of the Fair, to the Madras and Southern Mahratta and the South Indian Railway Companies for the facilities which in spite of great difficulties they have afforded to intending exhibitors, to the leading newspapers of Madras for publishing our advertisements free, to the Corporation of Madras for assistance in regard to water-supply and other arrangements, to the Bengal Paper Mills for a generous gift of paper for the official guide, to Mr. T. Fisher of the Government Press, to the Madras Timber Warehouse for building at its own expense one side of the second quadrangle and to the Pandar Sannadhi of Tiruvaduthurai, Rao Sahib C. Ramanujam Chetty and Rao Sahib T. Namburumal Chetty for liberal contributions to the funds of the Exhibition. We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Araujo of the Public Works Department who, in the face of great difficulties caused by unfavourable weather, carried out the work of constructing the building with unfailing resource and zeal.

We now ask Your Excellency to be good enough to declare the Exhibition open.

In declaring the Exhibition open, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—]

Your Excellencies, Members of the Executive Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I regard myself as exceedingly fortunate in having this opportunity afforded to me of opening your Exhibition and of testifying to the part which Madras has played in industrial work in India. Indeed I may say that, when I received Lord Pentland's invitation to perform this function to-day, I made, notwithstanding my heavy list of engagements, a special point of accepting it, because

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I was anxious to emphasize the very great importance I attach to industrial development and to express my thankfulness that the old *laissez faire* policy with regard to industries is dead and buried. Your Presidency made some years back a real attempt to bring into being and to foster industries, but this laudable policy was checked by order. I quote the words of the despatch countermanding the policy: "The results represent considerable labour and ingenuity, but they are not of a character to remove doubts as to the utility of State effort in this direction unless it is strictly limited to industrial instruction and avoids the semblance of a commercial venture . . . The industrial development of the province . . . is more likely to be retarded than promoted by the diversion to State management of commercial enterprise of funds which are urgently required for the extension of industrial and technical instruction." Thus what might have proved a valuable experiment was most unfortunately nipped in the bud. We have, however, many of us, during these last three terrible years, revised our opinion on most subjects, and on this matter of industrial enterprise I doubt if there are any now who would not say that it is the bounden duty of the State to foster industrial enterprise to the utmost of its ability. Personally I put the matter of industrial development in the forefront of my policy. We cannot unfortunately make great headway at the present moment for obvious reasons, but these months and years of waiting have not been wasted. The Industrial Commission is pursuing its investigations, and I look forward to receiving its report in the near future. The Munitions Board, meanwhile, has been accumulating for us a wealth of practical experience which will stand us in good stead against the day

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when we can put our hands to the work. I think the public at large has little conception of the valuable service which has been accomplished by the Munitions Board, not merely in the sphere of war activity, but in putting India's potentialities to the test. Time will not permit me to enumerate all its manifold activities. Naturally, one of its chief duties has been to procure in India for the public service any class of article which India is capable of producing, thereby substituting the home product for the imported article. Where facilities exist we have expanded them ; where possibilities were suspected we sought to realize them. Necessity is the mother of invention and the Munitions Board, by actual contact with practical problems, has already furnished us with the most gratifying results which, I am convinced, will not be ephemeral and transitory, but which will form solid foundations on which we may build for the future. I think I may say then that my Government has not been backward in this matter of industries. Indeed, we only await the termination of the war to press forward with a policy which, I believe, is fraught with untold possibilities of good for the people of this land.

But now what of yourselves ? Unfortunately I cannot speak as yet of the exhibits which we shall all presently examine. But the very fact that this is the second Industrial Exhibition to be held in Madras in two years speaks much for your interest in this matter and for the importance you attach to it.

To His Excellency Lord Pentland it furnishes signal and gratifying proof that the attention he has always devoted to this field of his work among you is yielding the definite results for which he has striven.

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Your province has always been, and in all probability must continue to be, mainly an agricultural province, and an agricultural province—particularly one with a large seaboard—might perhaps be expected to slumber peacefully on through the rotation of crops till the influence of some vigorous commercial community made itself felt in its midst ; and it speaks well for the mental alertness of the people of this province that they have proved so responsive to new ideas. It is to me an indication that though at present you are handicapped, except on the raw material side, you will in days to come, when the prosperity based on an efficient conduct of agriculture is more widespread, rapidly and successfully apply yourselves to other productive fields of enterprise.

Among recent noteworthy achievements of Madras in the region of practical research, there are two which I should like to mention specially. First, let me signalize the work of the Madras Fisheries Department which, under the guidance of Sir Frederick Nicholson, has done and is doing invaluable work in demonstrating the commercial possibilities of exploiting the fish supplies of the Presidency. I take a deep interest in the various utilitarian schemes which the department has in hand and which owe their origin to the fertile brain and the contagious enthusiasm of Sir Frederick Nicholson, who has laboured with great self-sacrifice and with great success in this field and who patriotically remains at his post in spite of his advancing years.

Secondly, turning to another field, I should like to express my appreciation of the insight and technical knowledge displayed in this province by Mr. Chatterton, who is now serving on the Industrial Commission, but who formerly held charge of your local Industries Department and whose

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efforts in the general fostering of local industries by demonstration and experiment, enabled this province to lead the way in the use of oil-engines and pumps for purposes of irrigation. This has proved a most valuable contribution to your agricultural progress. The idea was at once accepted and practically applied, and I have no doubt that, when the difficulties created by the war in the way of importing machinery are removed, it will be widely exploited to the great benefit of your agricultural community.

As I have spoken of the work of the Munitions Board in India, it may interest those of you who are not in touch with its operations to learn in what particular respects this province has proved capable of furnishing the articles we need for the upkeep of our armies in the field.

I will not give you a catalogue of the small metal articles, such as bolts, nuts, spanners, buckles and motor springs, which are now being made in engineering workshops here in common with the rest of India, and I will not do more than mention your new and important tent factory, your handloom tape weaving industry which now, under the auspices of the Munitions Board, supplies rifle sling webbing and khaki tape, and your greatly increased output of soap and fish-oil.

I may mention by the way that Her Excellency Lady Pentland has introduced me to your soap, and perhaps when later I pay you my official visit I shall be able to say "Since then I have used no other".

There is one direction in which the Madras Presidency has taken the foremost place in the supply of necessary war material for the British and allied armies, namely, in the

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supply of tanned hides to the British War Office for manufacture of army boots. The outturn of tanned hides from this Presidency has during the last twelve months more than doubled, and within the last few months has been about three times as much as in pre-war years. But there is still room for further development, and the War Office is continuing to press for the whole available output from Indian tanneries to be devoted to the tanning of hides.

It is with the object of securing the maximum possible supply of tanned hides for War Office work that Government has been forced to prohibit, as a temporary measure, the tanning of goat and sheep skins in the Presidency, and to stop their export from India. The continuance of skin tanning, which has practically no war value, though in the exceptional conditions of the civil market it may be highly remunerative, has been an obstacle to the employment of all our tanning resources on essential war requirements; and skin tanning has, moreover, directly interfered with the tanning of hides on account of the competition between hide and skin tanners for the necessary raw tan-stuffs.

It is our object to make the tanning of hides for the War Office remunerative to the tanners and the difficulties in attaining this object, which Government fully realizes, in particular the difficulty which the smaller tanners find in obtaining the right class of raw hide for army work at reasonable prices, and the difficulty of assuring a continuous supply of tanning bark of good quality, are being carefully considered by the Munitions Board and the Local Government. Government is prepared to intervene more directly in obtaining for tanners their supplies at fair rates, if the existing agencies are unable to deal with the situation.

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Khaki drill is another important item for which we look to you in Madras.

All the khaki drill required for the army in India and Mesopotamia is now being turned out by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras. The output of these mills has increased very considerably and has now passed $1\frac{1}{2}$ million yards per month, for which the mills are making their own khaki dye by a process invented by themselves. These mills were stated by the members of the Industrial Commission to be the finest they had seen in India, and an interesting feature in connexion with them is the social work done for the operatives in the way of an institution, reading-rooms, half-time schools and night schools. The mills mainly owe their present position to the broad views on questions of commercial responsibility taken by Sir Clement Simpson, a member of the Executive Committee of this Exhibition. I only wish time admitted of my paying them a visit. I lay special stress on the responsibility of employers for the social and educational welfare of their employees, and it has given me great pleasure to hear of the good work done in these mills.

You have done then a great deal for the Munitions Board. What is the Munitions Board doing for you? Let me give an example of what it has done.

The whole of the west coast of the Presidency from Calicut in the north as far as Trivandrum in the south may be said to live on the cocoanut. When the effects of the decrease in shipping available for export began to be felt, the prospects of the industries connected with the cultivation of the cocoanut became very gloomy, the whole coir industry was threatened and there was every prospect of thousands of

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cottage workers losing their livelihood. On this state of affairs being reported to the Munitions Board, an endeavour was made to use as far as possible articles made of coir, and large orders have recently been placed which have done something towards keeping the trade alive. Among the articles which are now being manufactured from coir in large quantities for the Government are hawsers, string, matting, and netting, of which 150,000 square yards are being sent monthly to the armies in Europe alone. Experiments are also being made with coir to produce anti-friction mats for ships, nosebags, and bags to hold tent pegs. A complete range of coir samples is included in the Munitions Board's exhibit which you can all see here to-day.

This subject leads me naturally to the question of agriculture generally.

I have spoken of a time when agricultural prosperity will be more widespread. May I indicate one or two directions in which there is possibility of improvement in the agricultural sphere ? First let me take indigo.

Madras grows much more indigo than any province in India, but any permanent revival of the industry will depend on—

First, the possibility of replacing the Sumatran plant, which I understand you use at present, by the Java species ;

Secondly, improvement in manufacture ;

Thirdly, organization in marketing ;

Fourthly, cessation of the present fraudulent practice of adulteration.

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If the Java variety can be successfully grown in Madras, it will not only give an increased yield, but also be a source of seed supply to Bihar, where it is in great demand. The question of improving the quality of Madras indigo is being studied by Dr. Marsden, who has been appointed as Indigo Expert, and it is hoped that he will be able to give valuable advice and assistance to manufacturers. But in order that the indigo should fetch the best price, it is necessary that there should be sound organization for marketing it not only in this country but also at home. The Bihar Planters' Association has formed a syndicate at home for marketing the natural indigo in the most saleable form, and it is hoped that exporters of indigo in Madras will take advantage of this organization for the sale of their indigo.

Other chief industrial crops of the Madras Presidency are cotton and groundnut. The trade in both these commodities has been steadily increasing and the prospect for the future is also promising, but in both of them vast improvements must be made in the methods of handling and marketing in order to establish a permanent reputation in the market. This can only be done by co-operation not only among cultivators, but also among traders. The Agricultural Department has by researches on experimental stations evolved superior strains of cotton which, if grown and marketed in a pure state, have been found to fetch better prices than the ordinary varieties. But in order to maintain the quality of the article and to sell it in bulk direct to the purchasing firms, the co-operation of growers is required, and it is satisfactory to note that the need for such co-operation is beginning to be felt. Seed unions are being formed in the Tinnevely cotton tract, which will not only be the chief source of supply of pure cotton seed, but

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also serve as organizations for joint sale and ginning of the improved article. In the case of cotton it is needless to emphasize the importance to the cultivator of growing his crop pure and marketing it direct and well, and it is through co-operative organizations only that this object can be achieved.

Similarly in groundnut also, the gross annual value of which to the Presidency is about seventy million rupees, combination among the ryots to put the crop on the market in a proper way is sure to increase their profits. The Madras groundnut, although not inferior in oil content, fetches a lower price compared with the produce of other countries. The reason is that the method you adopt here of removing the kernels from the shells is primitive. It involves an artificial damping of the groundnut after which the kernels do not yield the best quality of oil. If the shelling were done by machinery, the trouble would be avoided. But for the purchase of machinery there should be a combination of ryots to erect it jointly.

In short, for the improvement of the agricultural produce of Madras two factors seem essential :—

In the first place, a stoppage of the adulteration which goes on in all products : cotton, groundnut and indigo ;

In the second place, the development of co-operative marketing for better business handling of the produce ;

and to these two points I would direct your earnest attention. The evil of adulteration is widespread in India and its deplorable consequences are continually coming to my notice.

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Let me impress upon you that you cannot expect to get an assured market for your goods unless the market is sure of the quality it gets from you.

The principal plantation industries of the Presidency are tea, coffee and rubber, and I am aware that those interested in plantation produce have been passing through troublous times owing to the shortage of shipping, the high rate of freights and other difficulties. The coffee trade has been the chief sufferer. Unfortunately for the coffee planters in this country, at the time when import restrictions were imposed in the United Kingdom in the interests of shipping economy, there were very large stocks of coffee in that country. Consequently, His Majesty's Government did not feel themselves justified in taking up valuable freight space in order further to increase these stocks. The Government of India have on several occasions laid before His Majesty's Government the great difficulties with which coffee planters in India are faced, but we have always been met with the reply that there are other things of more vital importance, besides which coffee must take a second place. It is of course impossible to forecast accurately the freight position in the future, but it would be raising false hopes if the planters were led to expect that there is any likelihood of Government being in a position to provide freight for the whole of the coffee crop. The Secretary of State is, as a matter of fact, proposing to ask the Board of Trade to license the imports into the United Kingdom of half the 1917-18 crop, as he did with respect to last year's crop. But in the absence of shipping facilities this measure is of itself of little avail. The Government of India cannot hold out any hope of improvement in the shipping position, but they will continue to do all that is in their power

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to help the industry to weather the storm. The tea industry is in a more fortunate position. In the early months of the year the tea planters had some reason to complain of the lack of shipping provided to take tea from the Madras ports; the position, however, has considerably improved in the last few months. A scheme, as the industry is aware, is now being framed for the purchase of the United Kingdom civil and military requirements of tea in India on a system that will ensure a fair return on their output being realized by all estates.

The rubber planters can only be congratulated. Their exports have increased during the war both in volume and value, and the figures for the last seven months of the current year (April to October) constitute a record. The rubber planters are fortunate, in that their particular product is one of vital importance in the successful prosecution of the war.

I have trespassed somewhat unduly on your time, and so far I have said very little about the Exhibition itself and perhaps on the whole the best course is that I should let it speak for itself. I would, however, express my gratification at finding that the Durbars of the Native States are lending their support to this undertaking. I understand that on the occasion of your last Exhibition their contributions constituted one of the most attractive features, and that on the present occasion Mysore, Patiala, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkottai and Bungunupully are all represented, and I look forward with interest to viewing specimens of their handicrafts.

Not only on my own behalf but on behalf of all present, I would also express how sincerely the participation of the French Settlements in India in this Exhibition is appreciated

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by us all, and thank His Excellency Monsieur Martineau for his co-operation with us in this sphere of practical endeavour. I know of His Excellency Monsieur Martineau as a man inspired by the highest patriotism, as a man steeped in the history and traditions of the past. In the learned address which he recently delivered at the Convocation of the University of Madras he spoke of the struggles in olden times between France and England—spoke of them, as we all do, with no trace of bitterness; and I was glad to read that he too felt on his side, as we feel on ours, that in those old days honour and loyalty played as great a part as martial valour. In the battles of to-day gallant France happily stands at our side. We have borne together the glorious burden of these terrible years and never again, I trust, shall anything sever the ties of common suffering and common sacrifice which at this hour so firmly bind us and sustain us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. I thank the members of the Executive Committee for the kindly welcome they have extended to me. I trust that their praiseworthy efforts will be crowned with a full measure of success, and that His Excellency Lord Pentland will once more receive signal assurance that his unrelenting care for the industrial welfare of the Presidency is fully realized and fully appreciated. I now declare this Exhibition open.

**PRESIDENT'S
SECRETARIAT**

LIBRARY